

Blagoievich: A Governor Gone Wild Kashmir: Can India and | Science Says: Happiness Pakistan Keep It Calm?

Really Is Contagious







QUOTE OF THE WEEK

The List Issue

TOP 10 TV SERIES

- The Shield
- Mad Men The Presidential Election Dr. Horrible's Sing-Along Blog
- The Wire Breaking Bad +
- Battlestar Galactica
- Architecture School 10. Chuck



A Comprehensive Look Back at 2008 Through a **Collection of Serious and Not-So-Serious Top 10s**

Read, don't run.



Enjoy.

TOP 10 CRIME STORIES

- 1. Prison for O.J. 2. Jennifer Hudson's Loss
- 3. A Ranch Raided
- 4. The Dungeon of Amstetten
- 5. Missing Child: Caylee Anthony 6. A Bus Beheading
- 7. The Killing of the Anchorwoman 8. France's \$7 Billion Bank Bust
- 9. The Con Man 10. Murder and the Financial Crisis
- 2 Bailout 3 Hockey mom 4 Fist bump
- Nuke the fridge 6 Staycation

TOP 10 BUZZWORDS

7 Rickrolled 8 Puma 9 Tweet 10 Topless meeting















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be setting your mood 44 | CURIOUS CAPITALIST

The economic downturn is shaping up to be more than a typical recession

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- the Year Sweepstakes for a





Person of the Year, TIME asked

prominent individuals, including former TIME 100 honorees, whom they would choose for 2008. **The nominations continue**



Ann Coulter Conservative controversialist and best-selling author



I name Sarah Palin for her genius at annoving all the right people. I haven't seen liberals so enraged by a woman since me. Once John McCain was nominated, the election was a snoozefest until our hero bounded out of the Alaskan tundra. Palin is wildly interesting, charismatic and charming, so Democrats fixated on her inexperience-meaning she is only five times as experienced as our next President.



Ron Paul Texas Congressman and 2008 Republican presidential candidate



Amid a horrific financial crisis. all we hear are calls for more of the money-printing, spending and subsidies that created this mess. So I choose my great teacher, Ludwig von Mises, champion of the Austrian School of economics, who taught us how a central bank like the Fed causes booms and busts and how to build prosperity through sound money and economic freedom.





It sounds like a cliché, but in times of turmoil, stick with those who provide inspiration, comfort and love. That is what Oprah Winfrey has always done for me. Lam sure millions of others feel the same. Whether it is insight into the things I feel as a person, a woman, a mom or a citizen of this world, I always know where to turn when I'm confused or unsure. Oprah is undoubtedly my Person of the Year.





I nominate Barack Obama. He has galvanized the people of the U.S. and inspired the whole world. Young folks everywhere see him as a symbol of hope. Amid all the terrible news about such calamities as the financial crisis and the food crisis, he stands out as the overwhelming good news. He can create history by setting the political and economic tone for the 21st century.

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10 Questions. The former Congressman

is the co-host of MSNBC's Morning Joe. Joe Scarborough will now take your questions



What surprised you most about

the 2008 election? Stephen Vivona ANN ARBOR, MICH. That Barack Obama won, I never, ever assumed that a first-term Senator who had only served in the Senate for a year before deciding to run for President would be able to raise more money than the Clinton machine.

Should Morning Joe be wary of politics fatigue after such a long presidential campaign?

Mike Kennedy WATERFORD, CONN. I don't think so. We're about to enter a new era where people are going to be more excited about politics than probably any time since John Kennedy became President. I suspect the first year of the Obama Administration is going to be like nothing we've seen in quite some time.

What is life like as the lead conservative on MSNBC?

Dustin A. Campbell

HOPKINSVILLE, KY. [Laughs.] They keep us separated. They put me in a cage after I get off the air. No. as long as I'm fair, I don't think there's a problem at all. I will say that when I started in 2003, nobody spoke to me for six months. I was a strange man in a strange land.

Have you had to moderate your politics to host your show? Travis Hornsby PENSACOLA, FLA.

No. I haven't at all. It's interesting: I've been accused by Republicans of moderating. Sometimes I will actually be called a liberal. But my criticism's been of the way



the Bush Administration and the Republican Party have handled power over the past eight years. It's taken about that long for a lot of conservatives to come up to me and say, "Yeah, I know we called you a traitor in 2004, but let's let bygones be bygones."

What do Republicans have to do to recapture their conservative roots?

David Veigel, VIRGINIA BEACH They've got to keep their word. Either vou're for a smaller, less intrusive government or you're not. They've got to return to first principles. What they need to stand for is limited government. fiscal responsibility, and they need to be focused on staving out of people's lives.

Will you run for office again?

Suze Camo, MARLBORO, N.I. Not right now. I think I'll leave it to Chris Matthews to figure out whether or not he wants to jump in the [Pennsylvanial Senate race. Right now I'm having a lot more influence on the national debate than I did as a member of Congress. But you never know what's going to happen down the road.

Doesn't the confrontation on cable news promote division rather than bipartisanship? Jerry Fisher

WALNUT CREEK, CALIF. It depends on what type of show you want to do. What we've created on Morning Joe is a safe house of ideas, where everyone can come in and say

what they want. They know they're going to be treated with respect.

Has your competitor Fox News seen its best days pass?

David Timmerman SHULLSBURG, WIS. Fox News has always been underestimated from the very beginning. But if you want to use the past eight years as a road map for who's going to succeed over the next eight, it looks pretty good for MSNBC.

What was with all the drama between the MSNBC anchors at the conventions?

Heather McDonald

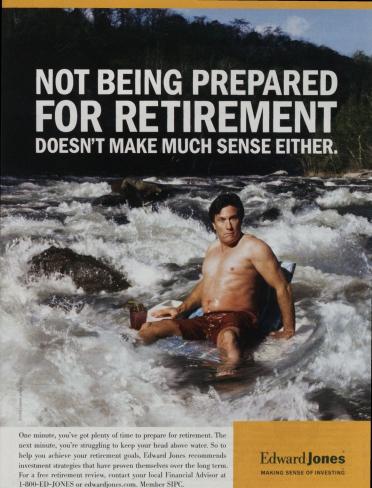
TAMPA, FLA. Everybody has a high level of respect for each other, but sometimes, like in any family, you talk politics and it gets a little heated. MSNBC right now is a free marketplace of ideas where everybody's invited and opinions clash. But all's well that ends well.

Do you really need that sevensecond delay? Can't you control your F-bombs?

Larry Dreiling, HAYS, KANS. Yes, I need it. I asked for the seven-second delay because we want everybody to remain relaxed on the set, and after that [incident], everybody was looking over their shoulder. Now, if anyone says something offensive, they can push the big red button. The Joe button.



go to time.com/10questions



Even some victims say he should be spared

BY REATA PASEK

WENTY-SEVEN YEARS AGO THIS month, Poland's capital was a different place: instead of showcasing new boutiques and McDonald's, the streets of Warsaw were guarded by tanks and lined with small bonfires to warm the hands of military patrols. On Dec. 13, 1981, General Woiciech Jaruzelski, Poland's Prime Minister, imposed martial law, initiating a brutal 19-month crackdown on the prodemocracy Solidarity trade-union movement in which an estimated 90 people were killed and 10,000 detained. Now, in a case long postponed by political squeamishness and red tape, Jaruzelski and six other former top officials face charges of violating Poland's constitution and unlawfully enforcing "the deprivation of freedom through internment." If convicted, the 85-year-old general would face up to 10 vears in prison. Though the trial started in September.

thanks to procedural delays, Jaruzelski finished reading his 200-page opening statement only in late November. In court he appears fragile but speaks firmly. His defense rests on the argument that with radicals threatening to take over the Solidarity movement and Moscow watching closely, he had no choice but to order the crackdown. Soviet troops put down a popular rebellion in Hungary in 1956 and destroyed a reformist Czech regime in 1968. Jaruzelski was acutely aware that Poland could suffer a similar fate. Martial law was a "dramatically difficult decision," but it "saved

trophe, he told the court.
Surprisingly, the leaders of the
very movement Jaruzelski crushed agree—
and have emerged among his staunchest
defenders. Former activist Kazimierz
Kutz, now a member of parliament, says
Jaruzelski sactions allowed moderates on
both sides to prevail, eventually leading to
the Round Table talks that brought apeace
ful end to Poland's communist regime

Poland from a looming catas-



Defiant Jaruzelski, left, maintains that martial law saved Poland from a Soviet takeover

in 1989. Even Lech Walesa, the legendary Solidarity leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner who was interned for almost a year in the clampdown, has said that Jaruzelski would have been considered a "great patriot" had he lived in different times and that the trial was a "mistake."

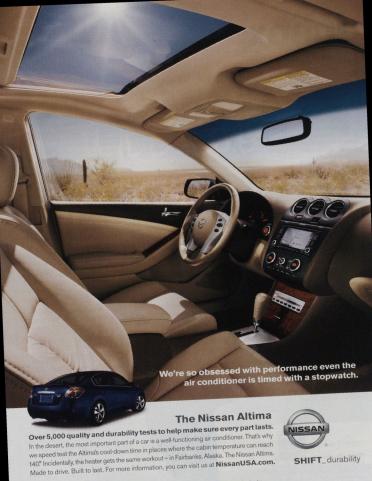
Not everyone feels the same. Speaker of the Senate Bogdan Borusewicz calls the takeover a "classic Latin-style military putsch" and says the trial may be Poland's last chance for justice.

"Jaruzelski defended the communist system, not Poland," us Borusewicz says. "He defended the communist dictatorship, not the state." Marek Krasko, a Warsaw accountant, remembers that as a 13 year-old, he welcomed martial law—because the

schools were closed—until he saw his grandmother in tears at the prospect of civil war. "Martial law was a hard blow for Solidarity, and it pushed the country back," he says. "But on the other hand, without Jaruzelski, it all could have ended up in violence." A December 2007 survey showed that 44% of Foles believe the authorities had no choice but to crack down, while 45% condemn the decision. Younger Poles tend to be more critical than adults who witnessed the events. "Opinions of those who remember the crackdown have changed over time," says Barbara Szacka, a sociology professor at Warsaw's Academy of Social Psychology. The generational split is visible at the trial. A dozen mostly elderly men go regularly to the courthouse, a monumental prewar edifice in downtown Warsaw, to show support for Jaruzelski, while young activists picket outside with banners reading when WILL WE SEL JUSTICE?

Treading wHEN WILL WE SEL [OSTICE].

In some ways it's surprising the trial is happening at all. Recent governments, largely made up of Solidarity moderates and holdowers from the communist era, were in no hurry to pursue the case; it wasn't until the right-wing Law and Justice party came to power in 2005 that prosecutors pushed to bring Jaruzelski to court will reach a decision. Some lawyers say the declaration of martial law was legal, and documentary evidence from the period is spotty at best. With Poles still divided, the judgment of General Jaruzelski may vet be left to history.



Inbox

Of Teaching and Torment

MICHELLE RHEE IS TO BE COMMENDED. for her dedication to students, slashing of school bureaucracy and belief in public education [Dec. 8]. But as a second-grade teacher, I am concerned about her obvious disdain for creativity in the classroom, warm learning environments and such important tools as classroom meetings, I am reminded of a quote by Aristotle: "Education of the mind without education of the heart is indeed no education at all." Perhaps the challenge in Washington is to find a superintendent who believes in both.

Amy Trusso, SOLANA BEACH, CALIF.

AS A FORMER D.C. TEACHER, I CANNOT thank you enough for your cover story on Rhee and the state of emergency that exists in the Washington school system. Rhee might not win Miss Congeniality, but she's doing what's best for the students. What matters more than that?

Kristen lames, HADDONFIELD, N.I.

RHEE ASKS, "WHAT IS ... SO EXCEPTIONAL about teachers that they should have [tenure]?" How about the fact that they are there when your daughter says she wants to kill herself, when your son is being teased, when your small child forgets lunch and needs a loan. All over the country, groups of teachers worried about voungsters are talking to one another to find answers. These teachers don't go home and forget; they are devising ways to reach their students even as they cook for their families. At first I thought Rhee did not understand D.C. culture, but after I read the entire article, it was clear that the issue is not D.C. culture. It is human culture-human feelings and the human spirit-that she does not understand.

Maria Valdivia, BANNING, CALIF.

I AGREE THAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE IN DIRE need of intervention and that one solution is to improve the quality of teachers. But you miss a major roadblock: parents. Even the most gifted teachers cannot inspire students whose parents do not instill in them the importance of education. Parents need to take responsibility by reading to children when they are very young, turning off the television and video games when they are older, making sure they are completing their homework and demanding that they respect not only their teachers but the concept of education as well.

Cara A. Tonn, ROSEVILLE, MICH.

THE FACT THAT WASHINGTON TEACHERS didn't even want to choose between merit pay, based on performance, plus losing a year of tenure, and a standard smaller raise on an annual basis exposes the core issue regarding our failed public-school system. The vast majority of public-school teachers (as represented by their union) are willing THE SQUEAKY WHEEL ... SUFFERS REGARDING YOUR COVER STORY on fixing America's schools: I am

a teacher who wants to challenge

Students [Dec. 8]. What I get for my efforts are constant reprimands from superiors whose main interest is the money they receive for keeping children entertained, comfortable and in school until these students graduate with a third-rate education. Most teachers. give up because they do not want to rock the boat. Mediocrity is the path of least resistance. The classroom has become a hostile environment in which those who want to learn cannot. It takes a great deal of courage to teach

instead of babysit, and those of us who

believe our job is to promote academic

excellence pay the price.

Susan Kohi, PHOENIX

to accept below-proficiency pay in return for job security because they are painfully aware of their collective ineptitude. When tenure is eliminated and teachers can make up to \$130,000 per year for extraordinary performance, educators like me may be encouraged to (re)join public service. Until that time, those of us who have "unreasonably" high expectations will remain in the private sector. Kevin R. Glover, BETHLEHEM, PA.

DECADES OF RESEARCH SHOW THAT TWO main factors result in better educational outcomes for poor and minority children: intensive, individualized early preschooling and small elementary-school classes. Yet for the past decade, the focus has been entirely on teacher quality. Why? It's cheaper and more palatable politically. Of course, it's better to have a good teacher than a poor one. But if you put the best teacher in a rundown school with a class of 35 students, most of them below grade level and some with developmental and discipline problems, that teacher is not likely to be able to teach effectively.

Sevmour Amlen, NEW YORK CITY ALL I HAVE TO SAY TO RHEE IS, GO, GIRL,

go! Bring it on! And yes, you can! Andrew W. Schellhammer, BUCKEYE, ARIZ.

'Under Bush, no violent acts against the U.S. have occurred since 9/11. But the cost has been a legal and spiritual 9/11 every day since.' Abraham Sadegh, FALLON, NEV.



What the Decider leaves behind Faced with remaking the Bush Administration's foreian policy, Barack Obama may earn a moniker of his own: the Undoer

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Inbox

Detainees' Rights

IN "CLOSING DOWN THE DARK SIDE," MARK Kukis says there is a problem with how the suspected detainees at a shutdown Guantánamo would be prosecuted if brought to the U.S. [Dec. 8]. If this were done, he says, "avowed terrorists" might walk away "on a technicality." In light of recent Supreme Court decisions making the writ of habeas corpus available to Guantánamo detainees, this is precisely how those detainees are to be tried, regardless of venue. To downsize a constitutional right into a technicality in the field of American jurisprudence is equivalent to considering gravity a technicality in the field of physics.

Franklin Morse II, SUTTONS BAY, MICH.

Lame Duck? That's a Quack!

JOE KLEIN'S PARTING SHOT AT A PRESIDENT who once had an approval rating in the high 70s and still has an approval rating twice as high as Congress's is out of line [Dec. 8]. Armchair quarterbacking is a national sport, and while I recognize that Klein leans a bit to the left, his column shows a stunning lack of perception. To paraphrase a political line from the past, "It's the security of the people, stupid," This President, like all Presidents, has his faults, but the economic results of a decadeplus of putting people into homes everyone knew they could not afford-and then having the whole house of cards fall-is not as much his fault as it is his responsibility, because of the timing of the event. Klein can and should do better.

L.E. Dura, FENTON, MICH.

YOU ABSOLUTELY HIT THE NAIL ON THE head. I almost cried. I am not an educated man. I have a high school education. I have always taken comfort in knowing that the person in charge of the country-and in many ways the world-is smarter than I am. I don't honestly believe, though I have tried to, that this has been the case for the past eight years. It seems that George W. Bush never really got it. It was all just a photo op: "Hey, look where I am. Dad!" It is a shame that so many people had to die because of such childlike whims and lack of caring. I was born in the South, and I have seen a lot of ignorance and intolerance. I now live in Northern California, so I have seen both sides of the coin as far as American culture and attitudes go. I don't think Bush ever took the opportunity in all his travels to see America or, for that matter, the rest of the world. He was never in touch. Thank you for your piece. It struck a major chord with me.

Gregory S. McCov, GUERNEVILLE, CALIF.

I STRUGGLE TO FIND WORDS TO EXPRESS my ever growing disappointment and disgust with Bush's disastrous presidency, except to be convinced that he is the worst President in my 72-year-long lifetime, if not in the entire history of our country. That's why I really appreciated Klein's "The Lamest Duck." It is a truly classic piece of writing, explaining graphically how so many of us feel.

David B. Lantz, FENTON, MICH.

One Campus Can Fit All

IT WAS EXCITING TO SEE MY OLD ALMA mater, which used to be called Shenandoah College and Conservatory of Music, in TIME [Dec. 8]. I only wish you had mentioned something about other programs it offers. The school has come a long way since 1976, when the focus was on the four-year music school, with a nursingdegree program and other degrees offered

In The World, a map that accompanied an item about outsourced farming in Asia misidentified Indonesia as the Philippines and vice versa [Dec. 8].

as well. Shenandoah is not all about religion and spirituality. It's a great place for an education in many fields. Sandra L. Van Dam, BROOMFIELD, COLO.

Defining Defiance

RICHARD CORLISS STATES IN HIS REVIEW of the movie Defiance, "Not all Jews under Hitler's boot were passive victims" [Dec. 8]. Almost all of Hitler's Jewish victims were civilians with families. They had no army, let alone guns, and were often betrayed by their local government. The vast majority had no chance to fight and nothing to fight with and probably thought they would live to see their families again, not knowing what evil awaited them. Calling them or any defenseless people "passive victims"—even to refute such a notion-is ignorant, rude and insulting. It would have been more accurate and thoughtful to have said that some lews found a way to fight back, and did.

Richard Allen Cohen, CHICAGO

What Ever Happened to an Apple for the Teacher?

Teachers don't like Michelle Rhee because she treats them with condescension-not because she forces them to do their job. Jackie Burns, JOHNS CREEK, GA.

The bureaucratic core curriculum adopted in 1892 and in nearly universal use in America's schools is not up to 21st century challenges. A lousy curriculum is a system problem, not a teacher problem.

Marion Brady, COCOA, FLA.

There'll be no fixing America's schools without fixing their funding model, which has all resources flowing to systems-none to families.

Tom Shuford, LENGIR, N.C.

Perhaps a portion of the funding that goes toward chauffeuring Rhee around the city can be spent on improving the Washington school system.

Laura Symon, SAN FRANCISCO

Rhee Not all TIME readers approved of Washington's schools chief



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Detainees' Rights

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IT WAS EXCITING TO SEE MY OLD ALMA mater, which used to be called Shenandoah College and Conservatory of Music, in Time [Dec. 8]. I only wish you had mentioned something about other programs

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In The World, a map that accompanied an item about outsourced farming in Asia misidentified Indonesia as the Philippines and vice versa [Dec. 8].

as well. Shenandoah is not all about religion and spirituality. It's a great place for an education in many fields.

Sandra L. Van Dam, BROOMFIELD, COLO.

Defining Defiance

RICHARD CORLISS STATES IN HIS REVIEW of the movie Definare, "Not all Jews under Hitler's boot were passive victims" [Dee. 8]. Almostall of Hitler's jewish victims were civilians with families. They had no army, let alone guns, and were often betrayed by their local government. The vast majority had no chance to fight and nothing to fight with and probably thought they would live to see their families again, not knowing what evil awaited them. Calling them or any defenseless people "passive victims"—event or refutes uch a notion—is invocant rude and

For more information on getting up to \$30 off additional FLOMAX prescriptions

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Are you taking FLOMAX

for urinary symptoms due to BPH, also known as an enlarged prostate?

Remember, BPH is a chronic condition, and if its bothersome symptoms are left untreated, they are likely to get worse. Symptoms such as:

- Weak stream
- Stopping and Starting
- ▶ Going urgently
- ▶ Waking up to go

For many men, FLOMAX reduces male urinary symptoms due to BPH in one week.

Continue to take FLOMAX as directed by your doctor, once a day, every day.

Tear off your FLOMAX Savings Coupon now!

Important Safety Information

Only your doctor can tell if you have BPH, not a more serious condition like prostate cancer. Avoid driving or hazardous tasks for 12 hours after your first dose or increase in dose, as a sudden drop in blood pressure may occur, rarely resulting in fainting. If considering cataract surgery, tell your eye surgeon you've taken FLOMAX. Common side effects are runny nose, dizziness and decrease in sermen.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Important Patient Information on following page.

FLOVIAX TAMELLO IN LO CAPSULES 0.4 MG



IMPORTANT PATIENT INFORMATION

What is FLOMAX?

FLOMAX is a prescription medication that is specifically designed to help relieve the signs and symptoms of benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH), a condition your physician may refer to as an enlarged prostate. FLOMAX works by relaxing the prostate muscles around the urethra, allowing urine to flow more freely out of the bladder. FLOMAX is NOT indicated for the treatment of high blood pressure.

Who should not use FLOMAX?

You should not take FLOMAX if you are allergic to tamsulosin hydrochloride or any other component of FLOMAX.

What should I know while taking FLOMAX?

- Only your doctor can tell if you have BPH and not a more serious condition, such as prostate cancer.
 An enlarged prostate (BPH) and cancer of the prostate cause many of the same symptoms. It is important that you see your doctor first to rule out prostate cancer.
- FLOMAX may cause a sudden drop in blood pressure, especially following the first dose or when changing doses. Such a drop in blood pressure, although rare in occurrence, may be associated with fainting, dizziness, or lightheadedness.

You should avoid driving or hazardous tasks for 12 hours after the initial dose or after your doctor recommends an increase in dose.

- During cataract surgery, a condition known as intraoperative floppy iris syndrome (IFIS) has been observed in patients treated with drugs in this class.
 When considering cataract surgery, inform your surgeon if you are taking or have taken FLOMAX and/or other drugs in this class.
- Though extremely rare, FLOMAX and other drugs in this class (alpha-1 blockers) have been associated with prolonged painful erection (priapism), which is urrelieved by sex. If this occurs, seek immediate medical attention, since this condition can lead to permanent inability to have an erection, if left untreated.
- FLOMAX should NOT be used in combination with other drugs in its class since interactions may be expected.
- FLOMAX should be used with caution in combination with cimetidine or with warfarin (a drug often prescribed under the brand name Coumadin® (Bristol-Myers Squibb Company)).
- If you have had a serious reaction to sulfa, be sure to tell your doctor before taking FLOMAX.

What are the most common side effects of FLOMAX?

The most common side effects are dizziness, runny nose and a decrease in semen. Other side effects include headache and tiredness.

How should I take FLOMAX?

FLOMAX 0.4 mg capsules are taken once daily. FLOMAX should be taken approximately one-half hour after the same meal each day. If you stop or forget to take FLOMAX for several days, start again with the 0.4 mg once-daily dose. If you were previously on a higher dose, contact your doctor before returning to the higher dose.

Do not crush, chew, or open FLOMAX capsules.

What about overdosing with FLOMAX?

You should always take your medications according to the directions given by your doctor. If you think you have taken an overdosage of FLOMAX capsules, contact your doctor immediately.

Still have questions?

For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist, call 1-866-432-9734, and/or visit www.4FLOMAX com.

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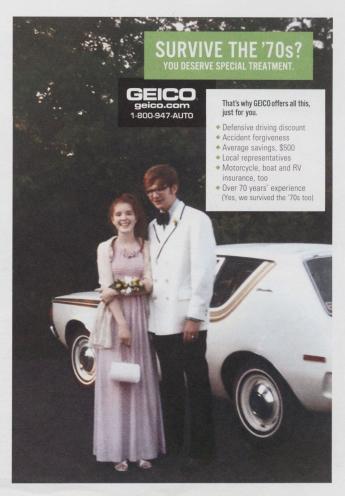
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The Moment

12/08/08: Guantánamo Bay

room drama, there comes a point at which the guilty party confesses in open court. New people would have expected a moment like that to emerge from any trail of the yir suspects at Cuantinamo-terrorists aren't prone to making their captors tasks easier. But on Dec. 8, in a husshed and heavily guarded courtroom, alleged yir mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four of his co-defendants abruptly offered to confess to coordi-

IN A CERTAIN KIND OF COURT-

nating the attacks—in effect, pleading guilty to the murder of 3,000 people. With family members of some of the 9/11 victims looking on, Mohammed told the judge he had no faith in the Guantanamorti-als, in his Pentagon appointed legal adviser or in the judge himself. "I don't trust you," Mohammed said. "We don't want to waste our time."

As he has long made clear, what Mohammed is in a hurry to achieve is "martyrdom" by execution. A confession may have seemed a way to ensure that fate quickly before President Bush leaves office. In a curious way, an execution could be seen as a victory for both Bush and Mohammed. But with Barack Obama hoping to make good on his proming the make good on his proming the make good on his proming the good on his proming th

Khalid Sheikh Mohammed wants to reach martyrdom through execution

ise to close Gitmo, some of the camp's more than 225 prisoners can expect to be released. The rest, including Mohammed, would face trial in more conventional U.S. courts.

Critics of Guantánamo say that after years of alleged tor-

ture and abuse, detainees aren't competent to plead guilty, as the five men are trying to do. Disputes over issues like that make it unlikely the proceedings will wrap up before the Inauguration on Jan. 20-which will complicate Obama's task of closing the facility and ending an embarrassing chapter in the war on terrorism. In any event, the military judge, Army Colonel Stephen R. Henley, refused to accept the guilty pleas. He said he needed first to resolve the question of whether a plea-instead of a guilty verdict by a panel of judgesmight actually prevent his court from imposing the death penalty. Even martyrdom can hinge on a technicality. -BY ADAM ZAGORIN

TIME December 22, 2008

The World

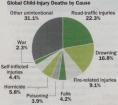


1 Geneva **Safety First**

widely adopted.

Accidental injury kills more than 2,000 children worldwide each day, according to the World Report on Child Injury Prevention, released by the World Health Organization and UNICEF on Dec. 9. While around 95% of these fatal accidents occur in developing countries, unintentional injuries account for 40% of child deaths in the developed world as well. The report suggests that the number of deaths could be cut in half if proven prevention methods such as helmet and seat-belt laws were more

Global Child-Injury Deaths by Cause



2 Washington Blackwater

Guards Charged In the latest blow

to Blackwater Worldwide, the largest security contractor in Iraq. five employees were indicted on voluntarymanslaughter and other charges in the deaths of 17 Iraqi civilians at a busy Baghdad intersection. The **Justice Department** unsealed a statement given by a sixth guard recounting the 2007 incident in which dozens of people were shot. In the account, Jeremy Ridgeway describes how he and five other men opened fire on cars and even a girls' school, claiming it was done without provocation.

3 Washington

Report Calls Out FCC Chair Over Bad Manners

What started as a bipartisan investigation of Federal Communications Commission head Kevin Martin ended with a scathing report from House Democrats that stopped



short of accusing the Republican chairman of illegal acts. The House Energy and Commerce Committee report, which GOP members declined to endorse.

blasted Martin's "heavy-handed, opaque and noncollegial management style" and accused him of manipulating or withholding from the public data on the cable-TV industry, among other charges. Martin is expected to step down when the next Administration takes office.



The plan will reduce the number of brothels, like this one, in Amsterdam's red-light district

4 Amsterdam

Less Sleaze, More Culture

Citing its brothels and marijuana cafés as havens for crime, city officials in the Dutch capital have unveiled a \$50 million plan to replace half of them with restaurants, galleries and hotels. Officials hope to broaden the city's appeal and make tourists feel less embarrassed about visiting.

5 Chicago

No News Is **Bad News**

The Tribune Co.. which owns the Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Times, and the Chicago Cubs, among other properties, filed for bankruptcy on Dec. 8, less than a year after billionaire Samuel Zell took the media conglomerate private. Zell's purchase left the company with \$13.4 billion in debt, which it was unable to overcome because of the economic crisis and the dire state of the newspaper industry.

APRIL 2, 2007 Tribune Co. accepts Zell's \$8.2 billion purchase offer, Zell himself puts up only \$315 million and borrows the rest against the employee pension plan

DEC. 20, 2007 Sale is finalized, tripling the company's debt. Zell names himself chairman and CEO

JANUARY 2007 TO SEPTEMBER 2008 Company eliminates over 1.000 jobs and sells various assets to alleviate debt

SEPT. 16, 2008 Los Angeles Times reporters sue Zell. accusing him of fiscal recklessness

NOVEMBER 2008 Tribune posts a 19% decline in revenue

Numbers: 1, 10

Proportion of U.S. mortgage holders behind on their payments or in foreclosure at the end of September 533,000

Number of U.S. jobs lost in November-the biggest monthly drop since 1974



6 Athens

RUNNING AMOK After police shot and killed a 15-year-old Athens boy during a Dec. 6 confrontation, protesters rioted in the Greek capital for nearly a week, battling law enforcement, setting cars ablaze and torching the city's Christmas tree (above). Fueled by frustration over unemployment and official corruption, thousands of Greeks smashed storefront windows and cars as union and transit workers staged a national strike. "It's very simple: we want the government to fall," a member of the Socialist Workers Party said on Dec. 9 as 10,000 people marched on Parliament.

7 Ottawa

A New Liberal Leader

In Canadian politics' latest shake-up. the opposition **Liberal Party has** replaced leader Stéphane Dion with former academic Michael Ignatieff a week after Prime Minister Stephen Harper suspended Parliament until January to avoid a no-confidence vote. Many felt that Dion's flubs hurt the opposition's powergrab attempt.

8 Boston

Are U.S. Kids Catching Up?

The latest Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study revealed that while math and science scores for fourth- and eighth-grade students in the U.S. now beat the world average, their Asian counterparts continue to do better. The exams are administered every four years to assess global differences.

Change in Fourth-Grade Test Scores MATH **United States United States**

2007 5 China China England England

lanan

9 Germany **Light Shed on** Black Hole

After 16 years of observation, a team of German astronomers has confirmed the existence of a giant black hole at the center of the Milky Way. The black hole, known as Sagittarius A*, was detected by monitoring the motion of the stars surrounding

it. Through this discovery, the astronomers were also able to more precisely measure Earth's distance from the center of the galaxy-27,000

light-years.



Voters in northern Ghana line up for the Dec. 7 election

10 Ghana

A Peaceful Presidential Runoff

In a rare democratic triumph on the African continent, Ghana's Dec. 7 presidential vote was hailed by election monitors for being fair and transparenteven if it didn't produce a result. Neither the ruling party's Nana Akufo-Addo nor opposition candidate John Atta Mills received more than 50% of some 8 million votes cast, meaning a runoff will be held on Dec. 28. Ghana, widely seen as one of Africa's most stable and prosperous nations, has experienced massive economic growth in the past decade. Atta had campaigned on a platform of change, arguing that profits haven't trickled down to the masses.

* What They're

Bailing Out in Italy:

In tough economic times. nations have to set financial priorities: infrastructure. jobs ... dairy products? According to the Wall Street Journal, the Italian government is putting up \$65 million to purchase 200,000 wheels of Parmigiano-Reggiano and Grana Padano cheese to donate to charity. With hundreds of small cheesemakers in northern Italy losing money, "there was a need for market intervention, just as there was for

Year by which cancer will overtake heart disease as the leading cause of death worldwide, according to the World Health Organization

banks," said Italy's minister of agriculture.

Number of California prison inmates who could be released if federal judges rule that overcrowding violates their constitutional rights

Japan

Verbatim

'I don't believe there's any cloud that hangs over me. I think there's nothing but sunshine hanging over me.'

ROD BLAGOJEVICH, Illinois governor, responding to reports of a federal investigation a day before being indicted for corruption

'We do not want to impose war, but we are fully prepared in case war is imposed on us.'

SHAH MEHMOOD QURESHI, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, refusing to transfer suspects in the Mumbai terrorist attacks to Indian authorities

'It was like something out of a Quentin Tarantino film.'

> TONY ZIELINSKI, Milwaukee alderman, on why he wants to revoke the alcohol license of a local Chuck E. Cheese following recent brawls at the children's pizza parlor

'I wanted to get off the bus after I talked to him.

> SAMUEL WURZELBACHER, a.k.a. Joe the Plumber, blasting John McCain, calling his experience campaigning with the Republican Senator "appalling" and "dirty"

'As a Jew, I was ashamed at the scenes of Jews opening fire at innocent Arabs.'

> EHUD OLMERT, Israel's outgoing Prime Minister, comparing violence in the city of Hebron to bygone anti-Semitism in Europe

'We feel the President's many accomplishments haven't been given the attention they deserve.'

CARLTON CARROLL, White House spokesman, on a memo given to George W. Bush's Cabinet with positive talking points about his tenure

'What's black-and-white and completely over?

> JON STEWART, Daily Show host, on the newspaper industry's financial troubles















Back & Forth.

Drugs

These students are early adopters of a trend that is likely to grow, and indications suggest that they're not alone."

Stanford law professor HENRY GREELY, on the use of brainstimulating drugs like Ritalin on college campuses, in a controversial essay that welcomes such pharmaceutical enhancement

'It's a nice puff piece for selling medications for people who don't have an illness of any kind."

Professor LEIGH TURNER, of the University of Minnesota Center for Bioethics, dismissing the essay

Zimbabwe

This is now an international rather than a national emergency. International because disease crosses borders.

> British Prime Minister GORDON BROWN, calling on European leaders to confront President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, where a cholera outbreak has killed more than 600 people

'I don't know what this mad Prime Minister is talking about."

> GEORGE CHARAMBA, Mugabe spokesman, accusing the British leader of using the disease as a pretext to invade Zimbabwe

Calling in gay-

Refusing to work on Dec. 10 as part of an Internetorganized movement to protest California's recent

ban on same-sex marriage USAGE: "The HR office has probably

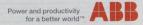
never encountered this before: People across the country are being urged to skip work Wednesday after calling in 'gay.'" -Chicago Tribune, Dec. 9, 2008



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A Brief History Of:

Smoking in the White House



ARACK OBAMA HAS OUIT SMOKING, MOSTLY, AS HE told Tom Brokaw in a Dec. 7 Meet the Press interview. he has "fallen off the wagon" occasionally. Oh, all right: When pressed, Obama said he'd "done a terrific job under the circumstances" of keeping up a healthy lifestyle. He has vowed not to break the current White House ban on smok ing, but if Obama takes his nicotine addiction with him to the Oval Office, he'll have distinguished (if smelly) company.

According to Cigar Aficionado, nearly half of all U.S. Presidents smoked. Ulysses S. Grant never shook the cigar habit he picked up during the Civil War, William McKinley had a similar love of stogies, but like Obama, he never allowed himself to be photographed in the act. Theodore Roosevelt barred his daughter Alice from smoking in the White House, so she took her habit to the roof. Calvin Coolidge was known to offer cigars to Congressmen after White House breakfasts.

Although Dwight Eisenhower quit his wartime four-packa-day habit before taking office, smoking in the residence was still common, with ashtrays on the tables at state dinners and free cigarettes for guests. Lyndon Johnson quit before taking office, as did Ronald Reagan, who nonetheless didn't mind if visitors smoked. When French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac lit up in the Oval Office, Reagan's personal secretary recalled, a china dish was quickly found to serve as an ashtray.

But by the time Yitzhak Rabin arrived at the White House in 1993 to negotiate the Oslo accords, smoking was banned, and he found himself shooed into the cold outdoors for smoke breaks-a fate Obama risks as well. The person who imposed that ban-former First Lady Hillary Clinton-is his nominee for Secretary of State. - BY KATE PICKERT

Smoke rings Nearly half of U.S. Presidents have had a nicotine habit, from cigarettes to pipes to stogies

TOBACCO TALES 1809-1817 James Madison takes office as the first cigarsmoking President

1877-1881 Rutherford B. Hayes and his wife "Lemonade"



Lucy reportedly ban smokingalong with alcohol-in the White House

1969-1974 After L.B.J. refrains from smoking in the White House, Richard Nixon's wife Pat brings it back 1982 The U.S. Postal Service



issues a 20¢ stamp of Franklin D. Roosevelt, cigarette in hand

1993 Hillary Clinton bans smoking in the White House. Bill's cigars later make a sordid cameo in the Lewinsky scandal

THE SKIMMER



The Return of Depression **Economics and the** Crisis of 2008

Bv Paul Kruaman Norton; 191 pages

FRANTIC BOOKSTORE customers should be forgiven for riffling through the pages of this slim book. After all, this is the new Nobel laureate in economics addressing the main-perhaps onlytopic of conversation these days. But Krugman's assessment is only partly reassuring: "We're not in a depression now, and despite everything, I don't think we're heading into one (although I'm not as sure of that as I'd like to be)." In this updated and revised edition of his prescient 1999 book, the author shows how the Asian and Latin American financial crises of the 1990s foreshadowed the current situation and argues that the rise of unregulated financial institutions-or "shadow banks"-since then has been the real problem. The solution: Policymakers around the world need to "get credit

by the Great Depression." PEAD SKIM

flowing again and prop

up spending." Until that

time to hunker down and

grandfathers were taught

"relearn the lessons our

happens, though, it's

-BY ANDREA SACHS

TOSS

TIME December 22, 2008

Pop Chart



CHRISTIE HEFNER resigns as Playboy CEO. What, did she actually look at the magazine?



OPRAH falls off the skinny wagon



OBAMA SPEECHWRITER gropes cardboard Hillary in Facebook pic



SPIKE LEE to debut musical at Sundance



TWILIGHT director won't return for sequel. But really, does it matter who directs this thing?



CNN magic-screen maestro JOHN KING to replace WOLF BLITZER on Sundays



GOSSIP GIRL in spin-off talks. Give the maid her own show!



KERMIT stars in music video for indie band LCD Soundsystem. Snap up Rowlf, Vampire Weekend



KANYE WEST kerfuffle



JULIAN SCHNABEL throws hissy fit on 60 Minutes. Take him out, Andy Rooney!



Less furious GRANDMASTER FLASH to release first album in decades. Now only slightly miffed



LENO at 10 p.m.: helping put America to sleep



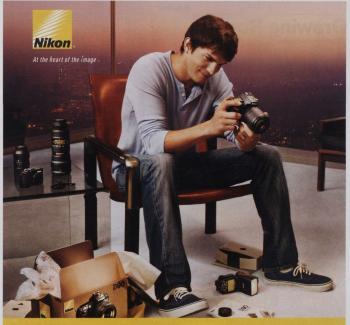


Hollywood is all out of bubblegum. THEY LIVE remake planned

LILY ALLEN takes temporary hiatus from boozing. At least until that New Year's party



Eve lineup: JONAS BROTHERS, TAYLOR SWIFT and LIONEL RICHIE. One of these things is not like the others



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Drawing Room

HOLIDAY TRAVEL, RECESSION EDITION



GUIDED IMAGERY

NEIGHBOR'S HOUSE



Mexico an RESTAURANT



AMUSEMENT BASEMENT





"Now that we've sold the flat screen, maybe we should face each other."



AUTOMAKERS' MODE of TRANSPORTATION ARRIVING at HEARING











SIZE of BAILOUT REQUEST



Unlike Ambien*, LUNESTA is FDA approved to help patients both fall asleep and stay asleep all through the night.

LUNESTA is clinically proven to provide up to 7-8 hours of sleep.

Ask your doctor about non-narcotic prescription LUNESTA.

Visit www.lunesta.com for more information and to access your Dream Kit for helpful treatment options, games and ways to save.

*Ambien, not Ambien CR,

LUNESTA is indicated for the treatment of insomnia. In controlled outpatient and sleep laboratory studies. LUNESTA administered at bedtime decreased the time to go to sleep and improved total sleep time.

Lunes

1, 2 AND 3 MG TABLETS

Important Safety Information: LUNESTA helps you fall asleep quickly, so take it right before bed. Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to skep before becoming active. Until you know how you will react to LIMESTA, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not take LIMESTA with action of Call your doubt of your insomnia worsers or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another buffer causing your skep problems. Call your doubt right away if after taking LIMESTA you walk, drive, ent or engage in other activities while asleep. In one cases, severe altergic reactions can occur. Most sleep medications carry some risk of dependency. Do not use sleep medicines for extended periods without first lating to your doctor. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, droveniess and deziness. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088. See important patient information on the next page.

*Ambien is indicated for the short-term treatment of insomnia characterized by difficulties with sleep initiation. Ambien® is a registered trademark of sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC.



Important Patient Information LUNESTA® (Iū'-nes"-tă) Tablets, Coated C-IV (eszopiclone)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with LUNESTA before you start taking it and each time you to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about I IINESTAT

After taking LUNESTA, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activ ity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with LUNESTA. Reported activities include

- · talking on the phone
- · sleep-walking

Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking LUNESTA

- 1. Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed
- . Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed. . Take LUNESTA right before you get in bed, not sooner
- 2. Do not take LUNESTA if you
- . take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take LUNESTA with your other medicines
- · cannot get a full night's sleep What is I IINFSTA?
- LUNESTA is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. LUNESTA is used in adults for the treatment of a
- sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include
- . trouble falling asleep
- · waking up often during the night
- LUNESTA is not for children.

LUNESTA is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence Keep LUNESTA in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away LUNESTA may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or been dependent on

Who should not take LIINESTA?

Do not take LUNESTA if you are allergic to anything in it. See the end of this page for a complete list of ingredients in LUNESTA.

LUNESTA may not be right for you. Before starting LUNESTA, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- · have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- · have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- · are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding
- Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. Do not take LUNESTA with other medicines that can make you sleepy.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine

How should I take LUNESTA?

- Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed. Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed for you.
- Take LUNESTA right before you get into bed. . Do not take LUNESTA with or right after a mea
- Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again.
- . Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may
- mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems . If you take too much LUNESTA or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment

What are the possible side effects of LUNESTA?

Possible serious side effects of LUNESTA include

- . getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. (See "What is the most important information I should know about LUNESTA?")
- . abnormal thoughts and behavior. Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts
- · memory loss
- · anxiety severe allergic reactions. Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using LUNESTA

The most common side effects of LUNESTA are:

- · unpleasant taste in mouth, dry mouth
- · dizziness · headache
- · symptoms of the common cold
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking LUNESTA. Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking LUNESTA until you feel fully awake.

These are not all the side effects of LUNESTA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088

How should I Store I IINESTA?

- . Store LUNESTA at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C).
- . Do not use LUNESTA after the expiration date.
- · Keep LUNESTA and all medicines out of reach of children.

General Information about LUNESTA

- . Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide . Do not use LUNESTA for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- . Do not share LUNESTA with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that
- This page summarizes the most important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about
- LUNESTA that is written for healthcare professionals. mer service, call 1-888-394-7377.
- . To report side effects, call 1-877-737-7226.
- . For medical information, call 1-800-739-0565.

What are the ingredients in LUNESTA?

Active Ingredient: eszopicione. Inactive Ingredients: calcium phosphate, colloidal silicon dioxide, croscarmellose sodium hypromellose, lactose, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, titanium

Rx Only



Sepracor Inc. Marlborough, MA 01752 USA

May 2008

Milestones



Sunny von Bulow

MY FIRST THOUGHT UPON hearing of Sunny von Bulow's death was of how distressed she would be to have become a household name. But some in her family decided to turn a medical tragedy into a legal nightmare. They accused her husband Claus of twice injecting her with insulin in an effort to cause her death

and gain her wealth.

After he was convicted of attempted murder, Claus asked me to give the case a fresh view. My team of students and I hired some of the world's greatest medical experts to give a second hard look at the evidence. Their conclusion was unambiguous. Sunny's coma was self-induced, Claus' conviction was

reversed, and he was acquitted.

The case was historic for several reasons. It was not only the beginning of gavel-to-gavel I'V coverage; it was also the stimulus for shows like CSI and the popularization of forensic medicine. It introduced a generation of Americans to the reality that law cases are not won in the courtroom but rather in the lab and the field.

The tragedy is that these developments in the law, and in public understanding. had to come at the expense of Sunny von Bulow's privacy. I am pleased that the film made of the case, based on my book Reversal of Fortune, portrayed Sunny in a positive and dignified manner. May her privacy finally be restored.

-BY ALAN M. DERSHOWITZ

Dershowitz defended Claus von Bulow at his appeal and helped obtain his acquittal

case, based on my Dook al of Fortune, portrayed in a positive and dignianner. May her privacy be restored.

■ For most of his life, Henry Molaison, 82, was known as

H.M., an amnesiac whose inability to form new memories made him the star of several groundbreaking studies of the brain.

Because of hundreds

Prosky, 77, had one of those

"I know that guy" faces. He put

it to good use with parts in the

TV drama Hill Street Blues, the

film Mrs. Doubtfire and the play

As the spiritual patriarch of

more than 110 million members

of the Russian Orthodox Church.

for 18 years.

Credited with

restoring the

church in the post-Soviet era,

he mended a

rift with a rival

sect established

Alexy II. 79, led his followers

Glengarry Glen Ross.

of roles in TV, film and theater, character actor Robert

■ In the 1960s, Warren M.
Robbins, 85, raised \$13,000
and took out a mortgage to buy
the former home of abolitionist
Frederick Douglass. House in
hand, he established the Museum
of African Art with work purchased
during his travels abroad.

SENTENCED Thirteen years after being acquitted of murdering his wife, former football star O.J. Simpson, 61, was given a sentence of up to 33 years in prison for a 2007 armed robbery

prison for a 2007 armed robbery in a Las Vegas hotel. He will not be eligible for parole until he is 70.

HOSPITALIZED After suffering a heart attack on Dec. 5, 1950s pinup sensation Bettle Page, 85, remained in critical condition, according to her agent. Page had

remained in critical condition, according to her agent. Page had been in the hospital coping with pneumonia and was set to go home shortly before the attack.



Forrest J Ackerman

FANBOY LOVE IS AN INDUSTRY now. Film studios and comix publishers court their young, mostly male base and count on it to help turn cult items into mass phenomena. Once, though, fantasy magazines and no-budget horror movies had just one prominent proselytizer: Forry Ackerman, who died in Los Angeles at 92. For more than 80 years, from the day in 1926 when he read his first issue of Amazing Stories, Ackerman was the Even that's too mild a word: say enthusi-woozy-ast.

He formed fantasy chat groups (bringing his young pal Ray Bradbury along). At the first science, fiction convention, in 1939, he arrived in a homemade space suit, prefiguring Trekkie costumes by decades. He served as literary agent to Bradbury, Isaac Asimov and L. Ron Hubbard. In 1954 he established scifas the form's handle. For about 30 years he edited Famous Monsters of Filmland, the Cahiers du Coméma of schlock cinema.

A genial Pied Piper, Forry led generations of kids on tours of his "Acker-mansion" and its superb collection of fantasy-film memora-

> bilia. No more, alas. The sky gods have claimed him. They've beamed up sci-fi's No. 1 Fanman. —BY RICHARD CORLISS

TIME December 22, 2008

Klein

The Aimless War. A trip to the front lines in Afghanistan shows why a surge of U.S. troops won't be enough to end the conflict

"THINGS HAVE GOTTEN A BIT HALKY," admitted British Leut. Colonel Graeme Armour as we sat in a dusty, bunkered NATO fortress just outside the city of Lashkar Gah in Helmand province, a deadly piece of turf along Afghanistan's southern border with Pakistan. A day earlier, two Danish soldiers had been killed and two Brits seriously wounded by roadside bombs. The casualties were coming almost daily now.

And then there were the daily frustrations of Armour's job: training Afghan police officers. Almost all the recruits were illiterate. "They've had no experience at learning," Armour said. "You sit them in a room and try to teach them about police procedures-they start gabbing and knocking about. You talk to them about the rights of women, and they just laugh." A week earlier, five Afghan police officers trained by Armour were murdered in their beds while defending a nearby checkpoint-possibly by other police officers. Their weapons and ammunition were stolen. "We're not sure of the motivation," Armour said. "They may have gone to join the Taliban or sold the guns in the market."

The war in Afghanistan—the war that President-elect Barack Obama pledged to fight and win—has become an aimless absurdity. It began with a specific target. Afghanistan was where Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda lived, harbored by the Islamic extremist Taliban government. But the enemy escaped into Fakistan, and for the past seven years, Afghanistan has been a slow bleed against an array of mostly indigenous narco jihadi tribal guerrilla forces that

Resolving the war requires sending a message to Islamabad and Kabul: the unsupervised splurge of American aid is over we continue to call the "Taliban." These ragtag bands are funded by opium profits and led by assorted religious extremists and druglords, many of whom have safe havens in Pakistan.

In some ways, Helmand province-which I visited with the German general Egon Ramms, commander of NATO's Allied Joint Force Command-is a perfect metaphor for the broader war. The soldiers from NATO's International Security Assistance Force are doing what they can against difficult odds. The language and tactics of counterinsurgency warfare are universal here: secure the population, help them build their communities. There are occasional victories: the Taliban leader of Musa Qala, in northern Helmand, switched sides and has become an effective local governor. But the incremental successes are reversible-schools are burned by the Taliban, police officers are murdered-because of a monstrous structural problem that defines the cur-

rent struggle in Afghanistan. The British troops in Helmand are fighting with both hands tied behind their backs. They cannot go after the leadership of the Taliban-still led by the reclusive Mullah Omar-which operates openly in the Pakistani city of Quetta, just across the border. They also can't go after the drug trade that funds the insurgency, in part because some of the proceeds are also skimmed by the friends, officials and perhaps family members of the stupendously corrupt government of Afghan President Hamid Karzai. Helmand province is mostly desert, but it produces half the world's opium supply along a narrow strip of irrigated land that straddles the Helmand River, The drug trade-Afghanistan provides more than 90% of the world's opium-permeates everything. A former governor, Sher Mohammed Akhundzada, was caught with nine tons of opium, enough to force him out of office, but not enough to put him in jail, since he enjoys-according





to U.S. military sources—a close relationship with the Karzai government. Indeed, Akhundzada and Karzai's brother Ahmed Wali—who operates in Kandahar, the next province over—are considered the shadow rulers of the region (along with Mullah Omar). "You should understand," a british commander said, "the fight here isn't really about religion. It's about money."

Another thing you should understand: thousands of U.S. troops are expected to be deployed to Helmand and Kandahar provinces next spring. They will be fighting under the same limitations as the British, Canadian, Danish and Dutch forces currently holding the fort, which means they will be spinning their wheels. And that taises a long-term question crucial to the success of the Obama Administration: What are we doing in Afghanistan? What it we mission?

Fighting Against the Odds U.S. and British troops stationed in Helmand province are battling in a region overrun by narcotraders, warlords and Taliban-backed jihadis



We know what the mission used to beto kill or capture Osama bin Laden and destroy his al-Qaeda command. But once bin Laden slipped away, the mission morphed into a vast, messy nation-building effort to support the allegedly democratic Karzai government. There was a certain logic to that. The Taliban and al-Oaeda can't base themselves in Afghanistan if something resembling a stable, secure nation-state exists there. But the mission was also historically implausible: Afghanistan has never had a strong central government. It has been governed for thousands of years by local and regional tribal coalitions. The tribes have often been at one another's throats-a good part of the current "Taliban" uprising is nothing more than standard tribal rivalries juiced by Western arms and opium profits-except when foreigners have invaded the area, in which case the Afghans have united and slowly humiliated conquerors from Alexander the Great to the Soviets.

The current Western presence is the most benign intrusion in Afghan history, and the rationale of building stability remains a logical one-but this war has become something of a sideshow in South Asia. The far more serious problem is Pakistan, a flimsy state with illogical borders, nuclear weapons and a mortal religious enmity toward India, its neighbor to the south. Pakistan is where bin Laden now lives, if he lives, The Bush Administration chose to coddle Pakistan's military leadership, which promised to help in the fight against al-Qaeda-but it hasn't helped much, although there are signs that the fragile new government of President Asif Ali Zardari may be more cooperative, Still, the Pakistani intelligence service helped create the Taliban

and other Islamic extremist groupsincluding the terrorists who attacked Mumbai-as a way of keeping India at bay, and Pakistan continues to protect the Afghan Taliban in Ouetta. In his initial statements, Obama has seemed more sophisticated about Afghanistan than Bush. In an interview with me in late October, Obama said Afghanistan should be seen as part of a regional problem, and he suggested that he might dispatch a special envoy, perhaps Bill Clinton, to work on the Indo-Afghan-Pakistani dilemma. Clinton seems a less likely prospect since his wife was named Secretary of State. The current speculation is that Richard Holbrooke may be selected for the job, which would be a very good idea.

Holbrooke is a great negotiator, but he's also a great intimidator, and the first step toward resolving the war in Afghanistan is to lay down the law in both Islamabad and Kabul. The message should be the same in both cases: The unsupervised splurge of American aid is over. The Pakistanis will have to stop giving tacit support and protection to terrorists. especially the Afghan Taliban. The Karzai government will have to end its corruption and close down the drug trade. There are plenty of other reforms necessary—the international humanitarian effort is a shabby, self-righteous mess; some of our NATO allies aren't carrying their share of the military burden-but the war will remain a bloody stalemate at best as long as jihadis come across the border from Pakistan and the drug trade flourishes.

I flew by helicopter from Helmand to the enormous NATO base outside Kandahar to learn that three Canadian soldiers had been killed that morning in an ambush. I stood in a small, bare concrete plaza as the Canadian flag was raised, then lowered to half-staff. Next the Danish flag and finally the NATO flag were raised and left to rest at half-staff. As mall group of soldiers from assorted countries stood at attention and saluted as the flags rose and fell. There were no American flags this day, but there soon will be.

Before he sends another U.S. soldier off to die or be maimed in Afghanistan, President-elect Obama needs to deliver the blunt message to the leaders of Pakistan and Afghanistan that we will no longer tolerate their complicity in the deaths of Americans and our allies, a slaughter that began on the morning of Sept. 11, 2001, and continues to this day. Obama will soon own this aimless war if he does not somehow change that dynamic.

Governor Gone Wild

'I've got this thing, and it's [bleeping] golden. I'm just not giving it up for [bleeping] nothing.'



-GOVERNOR BOD BLAGOLEVICH ON A WIRETAR



Blagojevich, 52, was either delusional, stupid or some combination of both. The feds had been on his case for years, and he knew it. Early on the morning of Dec. 9, federal Marshals woke him up with a predawn phone call, then arrived at his front door and handcuffed him shortly thereafter. By the afternoon, he stood in a Chicago courtroom looking like a common criminal, his feathered hair out of place, his executive wardrobe replaced with a blackand-blue Nike tracksuit. He faces the prospect of 30 years in prison on charges of conspiring to commit mail and wire fraud and soliciting bribes.

His alleged crimes were as outrageous as his inflated sense of self, the sort of behavior we expect of Hollywood villains, not Midwestern governors. He was accused not just with conspiring to solicit bribes but with conspiring to solicit bribes from the next President of the United States. He was accused not merely with planning extortion but with trying to force the Tribune Co. to fire editorial writers in exchange for a tax break worth about \$100 million. According to authorities, he even threatened to revoke millions in funding for a Chicago children's hospital if its CEO did not pay his campaign a \$50,000 tribute. The full buffet of alleged graft was laid out in a 76-page federal complaint that described the sort of corruption super-

And as is often the case in graphic novels, there was no time for the hero to lose. U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald began wiretapping the governor in mid-October and by mid-November could hear that Obama's old seat was being auctioned to the highest bidder. Fitzgerald feared that the longer Blagojevich remained as governor, the more likely he would name someone to replace Obama in exchange for a bribe. "Sunlight is the best disinfectant, as Justice Brandeis said," explained Robert Litt, who served in the Justice Department under Bill Clinton. "By bringing this all out into the open, Fitzgerald is making the assumption that nobody would dare cut a deal with Blagojevich now, and he himself will be deterred from making one. And if he is stripped of

heroes battle in comic books. his power to make the appointment, all the better." tics in his rearview mirror. The criminal complaint



THE BLAGOJEVICH SCANDAL WILL PROVE TO BE A distraction for Obama, a Chicago pol made good who was hoping to put old-fashioned Chicago poliBut the President-elect's political universe overlaps uncomfortably with the Illinois governor's seamy world of swagger, cussing and kickbacks. Obama's new chief of staff, Rahm Famauel, once boasted that he and Obama had worked closely with Blagojevich on his 2002 election, which was billed as a reformist campaign—a claim that Obama aides deny and Emanuel has since retracted as "wrong." As recently as 2006, Obama told a reporter he had concerns about allegations of corruption involving state Democrast, though he added that he would be "happy" to work to support the governor's re-election bid.

The criminal complaint, meanwhile. is riddled with mysterious references to unidentified political aides, fundraisers, potential Senate candidates and even a union official who could bring legal scrutiny uncomfortably close to the new Administration, Federal wiretaps picked up an unnamed official of the Service Employees International Union, an early endorser of Obama's, who was apparently entertaining Blagojevich's idea of creating a new nonprofit organization that could pay the governor a salary if he picked a certain candidate for the Senate seat and then retired to private life. The union official was recorded agreeing to "put that flag up and see where it goes." The union denies any wrongdoing.

In a different incident, Blagojevich spoke of an emissary from a potential Senate appointee, named by the feds as "Senate Candidate 5" but who has since been identified as Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. The emissary, according to the governor, offered to arrange as much as \$1.5 million in future campaign contributions in exchange for the Senate seat. For Blagojevich, the price was right, but the timing was wrong, say prosecutors. Blagojevich didn't want to wait until the next election for the money to arrive. He wanted to see a down payment right away. "Some of this stuff has gotta start happening now," the governor barked to his aide regarding campaign contributions. "And we gotta see it. You understand?" Apparently aware of the illegality of the demand, he told his aide to turn the screws in person, not over the phone. Jackson has denied initiating or authorizing any such offer and has promised full cooperation with prosecutors.



A latter-day Eliot Ness U.S. Attorney Fitzgerald, who prosecuted Dick Cheney aide Lewis (Scooter) Libby for perjury, explains the federal charges at a press conference in Chicago

Neither Blagojevich nor any of the power brokers who spoke with him in recent weeks should underestimate Fitzgerald, the no-nonsense federal prosecutor who brought down vice-presidential aide Lewis (Scooter) Libby in 2007 and has a record of following facts wherever they lead, flipping criminals into witnesses and forcing reporters behind bars if they don't give up their sources. Fitzgerald has made clear that his investigation is far from complete. In his probe of public corruption in Illinois, he has already brought charges against 15 people, including Blagojevich's predecessor, former governor George Ryan. "If it isn't the most corrupt state in the United States, it's certainly one hell of a competitor," says FBI special agent Robert Grant.

Dick Simpson, a former local elected official who now teaches at the University of Illinois at Chicago, counts hundreds of politicians who have been sent to jail since 1971, including 30 aldermen and three of the past seven governors. "The whole mess has to be taken in context," he explains. But even by Chicago standards, Blagojevich seems especially kleptocratic, according to prosecutors. He tried to shake down highway contractors, job seekers and health-care administrators. He talked of holding up bill signings in exchange for

Blagojevich whined that Obama's people were 'not willing to give me anything except appreciation.' favors—and seemed not to understand when his targets balked at his demands. When the CEO of Chicago's Childrent's Memorial Hospital failed to return phone calls regarding a campaign contribution, Blagojevich began investigating ways to deny the hospital funding. "What do we do with this guy?" he mused.

Blagojevich didn't work alone. When the Tribune Co. needed his O.K. to sell Wrigley Field, home of the Cubs, he included in the price tag a demand that Tribune executives fire editorial writers who Blagojevich felt had it in for the governor. During one call, Blagojevich's wife Patti can be heard calling out from the background, "Hold up that f Cubs s. ... F them." Though the message s. ... F them." Though the message

background, "Hold up that for the clubs s...F them." Though the message was apparently transmitted to corporate representatives, the Chicago Tribune said none of Blagojevich's critics were pressured to leave.

Through his lawyer, Blagojevich maintained his innocence, and he showed up to work a day later even while on bail. Most Democrats in the state, not to mention Obama and Senator Dick Durbin, are calling for his resignation, and the Illinois legislature is moving to strip him of the statutory power to name Obama's successor. Until either occurs, Obama's old seat will remain vacant. The son of a steelworker, who shined shoes and boxed in his youth, Blagojevich is nothing if not a fighter, and he has battled his way out of pinches before. But a criminal trial is about far above his normal weight, especially when the accused is the chief witness against himself. - WITH REPORTING BY ERIC FERKENHOFF AND STEVEN GRAY/ CHICAGO





Currently behind, the former SNL comic is pushing state officials to recount more ballots

NATION

And the Winner Is.

A tight Senate race in Minnesota forced a recount. Ever since, the race has only grown tighter

BY JOEL STEIN/MINNEAPOLIS

T IF THE 2000 presidential election had hinged not on a diverse, messy, weird and slightly creepy hick state like Florida but on the most organized, practical and cordial one in the Union: Minnesota? What if, instead of going to court after court over hanging chads and butterfly ballots and whether a recount should happen, election officials had just calmly looked at each ballot and tried to figure out what the voter wanted?

That's exactly what's going on in Minnesota, where 2.9 million voters left Senator Norm Coleman just 215 votes ahead of Saturday Night Live star Al Franken. Since then, both sides have politely allowed a legally required hand recount to take place, one with very clearly specified rules and no scheduled end

date. Of course, the recount ended precisely on Dec. 5. just as Minnesota's secretary of state had predicted, and the result didn't, of course. differ much from the initial count. "We didn't have to do a lot of overtime," says Cindy Reichert, the elections director of Minneapolis. "We did do some evenings. But we're very organized.

If it had been Minnesota instead of Florida in 2000, this is what we would have found out: Voters are idiots. You make a clear, statewide ballot with neat little ovals to fill in? Some voters will put in check marks and X's. They'll fill out two ovals. They'll mark one candidate's oval in ink, try to erase that mark and then put their initials next to their correction, even though there's a law on the books forbidding voters to sign their ballots, to

prevent voter bribing. They'll scrawl something about taxes in that oval, or about lizard people. You spend enough time trying to figure out the intentions of some voters, and you'll learn their real intention is to be put into special care.

This is what democracy comes to. It's sloppy and human. Just like asking a kid to count two dozen cupcakes. If you ask human beings to

If there's a tie, state law calls for the race to be decided by a coin flip. The search is already on for a good coin

count 2.9 million ballotseven if those human beings are Minnesotans-you're going to get a slightly different number every time. Envelopes whose contents were counted the first night are lost. Absentee ballots that were never counted turn up. Some people get their votes invalidated by accident. The main point of contention between the Franken and Coleman camps involves an envelope of 133 ballots from the not-exactly-shenanigansprone University Lutheran Church of Hope in Minneapolis that got counted late on election night, then transported to a warehouse, and seems to have gone missing in the recount. Everyone spent a day combing the place as if they were on a CSI episode, but to no avail. "You'd love to find it." savs Mark Ritchie, Minnesota's secretary of state. "Out of



L FRANKEN CHARLES ALDRICH JAMES NIEMACKL





Contested votes Two election judges recount ballots at a Minneapolis warehouse on Nov. 19. A number of mismarked ballots were challenged by one or both Senate candidates. Some examples: 1. Both ovals are blackened, but only Coleman's is correctly done 2. This voter marked both ovals, then crossed out the one for Coleman

3. Coleman's box is heavily filled in, while Franken's is lighter and crossed out, with a note: "I really do want to vote for Coleman" 4. A change of heart? An X for Coleman and a dark mark for Franken

3 million ballots, to have one envelope missing, you know, darn it." You know, darn it is the Minnesota equivalent of self-flagellation.

The other disagreement is over whether to count absentee ballots that were mistakenly rejected by local election officials around the state. When the Franken camp asked for and got a list of why each ballot was rejected, it discovered some ballots were thrown away for something besides the four legally specified reasons. So most of the reason-

Minnesota counties started sorting the rejected ballots into five neat little piles, in case the state canvassing should count. One of those Latino caucus, who voted absentee because he was volunteering the day of the election. Like many people from Latin America, Garcia Luna has two last names, and

able election officials of the board decides at its meeting on Dec. 12 that those ballots fifth-pile votes, the Franken camp discovered, belonged to Erick Garcia Luna, the chairman of the state Democratic



Norm Coleman The incumbent leads by about 200 votes. Several thousand ballots have vet to be reviewed

Minnesotans aren't used to Latin Americans. So it seems logical that some election official looked up his last name under Luna instead of Garcia and determined he wasn't registered, even though he was. Garcia Luna, who just became a citizen this year, is hopeful that his vote will be counted by the canvassing board, "If you look at the mathematics. I'm like 5% of what Franken needs to win. I feel very upset. Also very important." But Garcia Luna isn't sore at the Coleman campaign for not wanting his vote counted. Though he only recently became a Minnesotan, he already sounds as if he were born here, "It's just politics," he says, "We divide partisanship from civics."

The Franken side is pushing for more ballots to be included in the recount, partly because it has nothing to lose (it's behind) and partly because, historically, Democrats screw up their ballots more often than Republicans. They're the shaky-handed elderly, the movement-limited disabled, the instruction-confused immigrants, the first-time-voting minorities. But despite this tension, the two law teams have been pleasant toward each other. Franken lead attorney Marc Elias, who was head counsel for the John Kerry campaign, says, "It's been cordial. I've met Coleman's lawyer, Mr. Knaak, three times. He seems like a nice fellow." In fact, each side independently has taken back hundreds of ballot challenges it made during the review process that were frivolous.

On Dec. 16, the state canvassing board will review each of the remaining several thousand confusing ballots with an overhead projector for the public, decide which count and declare a winner before Christmas, well before the U.S. Senate is seated on Ian 6 The five-member board was chosen by Democratic secretary of state Ritchie, but both sides are satisfied with his appointments. To prepare himself. Ritchie not only watched HBO's movie about the Florida recount, but he watched it in a particularly Minnesotan way. "I was espefeatures of the disc," he says. Meantime, reviewing the wacky ballots-available to the public as PDF files-is by far the most popular activity on the Minneapolis-St. Paul Star Tribune website.

All the sensible, civicminded spirit doesn't guarantee the losing camp won't sue when it's all over. But Minnesota law, which was perfected after a gubernatorial recount in 1962, has a plan in case of a dead tie: a coin flip. The state already did one this year for a school-board seat in Farmington. Ritchie has been looking around for a good coin for the Coleman-Franken race; he says the quarter with Minnesota on the back is the way to go. "I was watching Leatherheads, the football movie, and you realize there are angles on coin-tossing as well. Who flips it? Who calls it?" By next year, rest assured, Minnesota will have the best coin-flipping law anywhere.



Sum of All Fears

The terrorist strikes on Mumbai have reignited a six-decade-old dispute between India and Pakistan, with worrisome consequences for the U.S.

BY JYOTI THOTTAM/SRINAGAR





Anger in the street A pro-independence Kashmiri demonstrator prepares to throw a piece of brick at Indian police during a protest in October

of the Pakistani portion. They returned to join a raging insurgency against the Indian government. Now, five years into an uneasy cease-fire, the trade again is mainly in apples, with only military and police checkpoints to serve as reminders that the two countries are not much closer to resolving their differences over Kashmir. "We were quite happy to have another market for our produce," says Bashir. Fruit Growers and Dealers Association. "It was a good omen. But sadly, Kashmir is again in the news for the wrong reasons."

After years of relative invisibility, the dispute has returned to the world's agenda. U.S. and Indian officials believe that Lashkare-Taiba, a militant group form in Muzaffarabad, planned the Nov. 26 terrorist strike on Mumbai. The attack left zip teople dead and many Indians baying for revenge against the terrorists and their pattons. New Delhi says Pakistan actively supports and encourages groups like Lashkar. Although technically banned in Pakistan, Lashkar is thought to be working under the aegis of its charitable wing and is at least lotlerted by Islamabat.

Alarmed that the nuclear-armed neighbors would return to the brink of conflict-it would be their fourth in 61 vears-and undermine the war on terrorism in Afghanistan and northern Pakistan, the Bush Administration is pressuring Islamabad to crack down on homegrown militants. In response, Pakistani authorities have launched nighttime raids on several camps in and around Muzaffarabad, arresting at least 12 people. Among them: Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, a top Lashkar commander named by Indian police as the mastermind of Mumbai. (A spokesman has denied that the group had any role in the Mumbai attacks.)

The arrests are unlikely to mollify india, however, New Delhi is demanding more evidence that Islamabad is serious about withdrawing support for militants. "They need to show us that this time it will not be a farce," says B. Raman, former head of the counterterrorism branch of the Research and Analysis Wing, India's equivalent of the CLA. "They should either deport those accused of the Mumbai attacks or allow an Indian police team to visit Pakistan and interrogate them." But the Pakistan military and intelligence services are reductant to comply. In the past, they have used groups like Lashkar to fight a

proxy war against India, and the militants keep the cause of Kashmir—a popular one throughout Pakistan—alive. Islamabad has traditionally argued that the best way to stop the militants is to resolve the long-standing dispute. But after the terrorism of Mumbai, the Indian government is unlikely to be any more conciliatory.

With neither side inclined to give any ground, U.S. officials are concerned that renewed tensions over Kashmir could have consequences across the region. The most pressing fear is that Pakistan, worried about Indian retaliation for Mumbai, will send more troops to shore up its eastern border, taking away vital resources from the fight against the Taliban, al-Qaeda and other extremist groups along its border with Afghanistan. That would enable these groups to step up their operations against U.S. and NATO troops in Afghanistan. It's a prospect that troubles not just the Bush Administration but also its successor. President-elect Barack Obama has said he will devote some "serious diplomatic resources" to settling the dispute over Kashmir.

Roots of Rage

THE KASHMIR CONFLICT HAS DEFEATED the good intentions of plenty of would-be mediators, including the U.N. and several previous incumbents of the White House. The U.S. has been involved since 1947." says Manoi Joshi, who has written two books on the conflict. "They've tried everything." The dispute began when the two countries won independence from Britain in 1947 and the Hindu ruler of Muslimmajority Kashmir chose to join India rather than Pakistan. That decision has never been accepted by Pakistan, and a de facto boundary, the Line of Control, divides Kashmir between them. India and Pakistan have fought two wars and countless skirmishes over the territory. Relations worsened when an insurgency broke out in Indian-held Kashmir 20 years ago.

When militants attacked the Indian Parliament in late 2007—an assault blamed partly on Lashkar—the two countries came to the brink of another war. The U.S., then mopping up after defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan, helped keep them apart. The

'Things won't change much in Kashmir unless Kashmiris have a say. We are a people desperate to be heard.'

-BASHARAT PEER KASHMIRI WRITER

HE TWO-LANE HIGHWAY BEtween Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, lined with slim, pale poplar trees and winding past spectacular Himalayan mountains, has witnessed every chapter of the decades-old conflict between India and Pakistan over the divided territory of Kashmir. It was built for commerce: trucks carried apples from the surrounding orchards and handicrafts to markets in undivided India and beyond. Then in the 1990s, it became a highway of hatred, with buses transporting angry young men from Srinagar, capital of the Indian portion of Kashmir, to border towns, where they crossed to militant training camps, many of them in Muzaffarabad, capital





Cracking down A massive Indian buildup of security forces, like this policeman, has quelled the insurgency, but nonviolent demonstrations continue

subsequent cease-fire has ushered in a few years of peace, one now endangered by the Mumbai attacks.

For jihadis-and not just those in Pakistan--Kashmir has become a symbol of injustice against Muslims everywhere. Extremist websites and literature are replete with examples of atrocities by the Indian army and state police, which have ruthlessly put down the pro-independence militant movement. Human-rights groups also blame Indian authorities for widespread abuses like rape, torture and disappearances, but note that militants have engaged in similar brutal tactics. Human Rights Watch estimates that more than 50,000 people-civilians, soldiers and militants-have been killed in the past 20 years. Some activists say the toll is tens of thousands higher.

Most Kashmiris on the Indian side of the divide have experienced enough violence to reject it as a tactic in the freedom struggle. Local militancy is on the wane;

'A drawdown [of Indian forces] would be good, as it would make the average Kashmiri feel at ease.'

-ZARIEF AHMED, A RETIRED GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

the official annual death toll from violence slipped from 5,000 in 1966 to 1,000 in 2007 and 600 so far this year, according to Ashok Bhan, director of police intelligence for Kashmir. Thanks in part to draconian security measures, turnout in this winter's local elections has exceeded 60% in some districts. That's a far cry from the single digits reported during the height of the insurgency, when polling booths were targeted by militants.

Elusive Solutions

WITH THE MILITANCY FADING, HUMANrights groups and Kashmiri political leaders say the Indian government now has the opportunity to reduce the power of Kashmir as a symbol of Muslim grievance. It would take a grand gesture: draw down the massive military presence in the region. Between them, the Indian army, the paramilitary forces and the state police have nearly 700,000 troops stationed among a population of more than 5 million. It is as if the entire U.S. Army and almost all the U.S. Marine Corps were stationed in Minnesota. "A drawdown would be good, as it would make the average Kashmiri feel at ease," says Zarief Ahmed, a retired government official now involved in social work. "When you have so many soldiers and policemen on all sides, it reminds you of the vulnerability you are caught in."

But a drawdown is unlikely as long as India believes that Pakistan-based militant groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba remain a security threat—and the Mumbai attacks serve as proof that they are. "It's like a disease in the body," says Sudhir Bloeria, a senior adviser to the governor of the Indian portion of Kashmir. "You have to be vigilant even after the symptoms have disappeared."

What can the U.S. do to help? Washington can try to push both sides for some movement on Kashmir, the issue on which their diplomatic talks have repeatedly faltered. Indian foreign policy experts say the U.S., which has supplied the Pakistain military with billions of dollars since 2001, may have the leverage to persuade the generals to stop shielding militant groups like Lashkar.

In Srinagar, many Kashmiris say that any further talks should include a seat at the negotiating table for them. India has been reluctant to allow the separatists a voice in the talks. "We've seen meetings between the Indian and Pakistani Foresterether, but things won't change much in Kashmir unless Kashmiris have a say in the talks," says Basharat Peer, author of a new memoir about growing up during the insurgency. "We are a people desperate to be heard."

In the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks, the greatest Challenge lies in convincing India and Pakistan that they need to abandon some of their long held position or der to reach a resolution over Kashmir. The road from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad may be open, but the obstacles along the way seem bigger than ever. —WITH REPORTING BY MADHUR SINGH/NEW DELIN AND TUSUF JAMEEL/SRINAGAR

Who will be the 2008 TIME Person of the Year? Asif Ali Zardari Th Middle Class T. Boon



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Go to time.com on Wednesday, Dec. 17, for the announcement, and pick up the Time Person of the Year issue on newsstands on Friday, Dec. 19.

EDUCATION

College Credit Crunch 101

How higher education—and one liberal-arts school in particular—is grappling with the market meltdown

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY AND LAURA FITZPATRICK





Whatever the reason, the 36 absentees have had a big effect on this bucolic 1,300-student campus, a two-hour drive north of Chicago. The lost tution was the primary factor in creating a six million budget shortfall that is leading the school to lay off mearly atent britisstaff—including all non-tenured faculty—by Dec. 31. Student lead-ex, distressed by the news, have sprung into action. "We meet with the administration on a nearly weekly basis about how we can conserve," says junior Sarah Dunn. "We've considered things such as switching to energy-efficient lightbulls or cutting back on how much tollet paper dorns use."

Conserving toilet paper? School administrators have no plans to cut back on this particular item, but students' volunteering to use less of it is just one sign of desperate times calling for desperate measures. This fall nearly all U.S. colleges and universities are grappling with how to survive the ongoing credit crunch. Over the past decade, schools have financed their operations





with ever escalating tuition and fees-Beloit's total bill rose from 524,8k in 1999 to 538,006 this year—and increasingly sophisticated investment portfolios. The latter strategy, which reaped huge returns in better times, has now set many institutions on a perilosu path. Add in struggling families' greater demand for financial aid, and the waters ahead look even rougher.

"If you're really smart, tough and decisive, you'll navigate it," says David Warren, predident of the National Association of Independent Colleges & Universities (NAICU). "And if you aren't, you may submerge."

Beloit isn't the only school searching high and low for ways to trim expenses while preserving academic quality. Stanford, for instance, is reducing top administrators' salaries to help cut as much as 12% from its budget, while Cornell and Brown

have stopped hiring. At South Carolina's Clemson University, all faculty and staff must take an unpaid five day leave. The prospect of widespread school closings or mergers, though unlikely, is still a possibility. Warren warns, "if the market continues to be as dismal and credit lines are difficult to thaw."

How did higher education get so caught up in the subprime mess? A few years a Beloit followed the lead of wealthier institutions such as Princeton and Yale by putting about 20% of its endowment in alternative investment vehicles like private equity and real estate. Many other private schools did the same, and their endowments are taking a battering, Some could face losses of up to 30%, according to the credit rating agency Moody's (For Harvard, that could translate into an 1sr i billion blow to the \$5\time\$ billion blow to the \$5\time\$ billion blow to the \$5\time\$ billion blows to the \$5\time\$ billi





Conservation efforts
To help cut costs, college
students in Beloit, Wis,
are embracing energyefficient lightbulbs and
trayless cafeterias.
Some are even trying to
use less toilet waver

endowment it boasted in June, and the school has already announced it will freeze faculty-hiring and salaries.) In the past, Beloit's \$1 million budget shortfall would easily have been covered by its endowment, which stood at \$132 million last year. As of October, the endowment had dropped to \$89 million. "We just can't count on that money anymore," says John Nicholas, the school's vice president for administration and its treasurer. To compound the problem, private-equity-fund managers, short on liquid assets, have begun issuing capital calls-that is, demanding that their investors cough up cash immediately. So far, Beloit has received only one capital call, for just \$500,000, a small amount compared with the size of other schools' capital calls. Given all that, it's no wonder those 36 Tuition covers an average of 60% of operating costs at private baccalaureate colleges. At Beloit, where students' families supply three quarters of the school's \$55 million annual budget, two budgets have been drawn up for 2009; one for 1,250 students and another in case enrollment drops to 1,200.

Nearly 20% of private schools had fewer students return to campus this fall. Three-quarters say demand is up for financial aid

Over the past decade, Beloit has experienced a surge in popularity, with enrollment rising nearly 15% since the school was featured in the 1996 best seller Colleges That Change Lives, But administrators are bracing for a drop in applications this spring, knowing that many candidates will view state universities and community colleges as more prudent choices. (The University of Wisconsin system saw record enrollment this fall.) And Beloit is not alone. A September NAICU survey found that nearly 20% of private schools reported fewer students returning to campus this semester. At the same time, three-quarters have seen increased demand for financial aid.

To date, Beloit officials have promised not to cut the aid that supports nearly 90% of students through grants, student loans or work-study. Quietly, however, the school has moved from a need-blind admissions approach to a less inclusive one that enrollment director Nancy Benedict calls "need sensitive," which probably means granting admission to fewer students who need large aid packages. Meanwhile, current students are skeptical that Beloit will be able to keep its aid promises, "It's hard to imagine scholarships will go untouched." says junior Shanna Dell, "That would be a disaster for me and my parents. I don't know if I could come back.

Beloit is working hard to calm such fears by conducting regular town hall meetings with students, staff and even some parents. Interim president Dick Niemice has stressed to the Beloit community that the impending cuts will not include tenure track professors and will be "as far away from the student experience as possible." He adds that students may even get a higher-quality education as a result; classes taught by a djunct professors who retire or are laid off will be picked up by tenured professors.

Despite such reassurances, there's still much unknown about the financial future of Beloit and other schools. The U.S. Treasury Department has allocated a decent chunk of change to shore up student loans nationwide, but the effects of that move may not be evident for some time. Nor is Beloit counting on its alumni for abilout. Niemiec has launched a fundraising push, but officials expect giving to be down at least 1,4% this year.

So for the time being, Beloit will have to buckle down. The school has halted new construction and will work to trim \$750,000 in discretionary spending. One creative solution: eliminating trays in its cafeterias. The move is designed to us down on dishwashing as well as food waste since students are less likely to get an extra course if they have to carry dishes separately. Sometimes belt tightening can be a win win.







SCIENCE

The Happiness Effect. How emotions and even behaviors can spread like an epidemic

BY ALICE PARK

THE NEXT TIME YOU GET THE FLU, THERE WILL AIMST CERTAINLY BE SOMEONE YOU CAN blame for your pain. There's the inconsiderate co-worker who decided to drag himself to the office and spent the day sniffling, sneezing and shivering in the cubicle next to yours. Or your child's best friend, the one who showed up for a playdate with a runny nose and a short supply of tissues. Then there's the guy at the gym who spent more time sneezing than sweating on the treadmill before you used it.

You're right to pass the blame. Pathogens like the influenca virus pass like a holiday fruitcake from person to person, but you probably don't think much past the one who gave it directly to you. An infectious disease expert, on the other hand, would no be sifeed to stop there. What about the person who passed the virus on to your colleague, the one before him and others earlier still? Contagious diseases operate like a glant infectious networks, spreading like the latest You'lube clip among friends of friends on line. We're social animalsy we share.

So public-health experts are beginning to wonder whether certain health-related behaviors are just as contagious as microbes. If you're struggling with your weight, did you in effect catch a case of fat by learning poor eating and exercise habits from a friend or family member who was similarly infected by someone else? If you smoke, do you light up because you were behaviorally contaminated by smokers who convinced you of the coolness of the habit? Even more important, if such unhealthy behaviors are contagious, are healthy ones—like quitting smoking or exercising—equally so? And what if not only behaviors but also moods and mental states work the same way? Can you catch a case of happy?

Increasingly, the answer seems to be yes. That's the intriguing conclusion from

If unhealthy habits like smoking are contagious, why not healthy mental states? Can you catch a case of happy?

a body of work by Harvard social scientist Dr. Nicholas Christakis and his political science colleague James Fowler at the University of California at San Diego. The pair created a sensation with their announcement earlier this month of a 20 year study showing that emotions can pass among a network of people up to three degrees of separation away, so yourjo may, to a larger extent than you realize, be determined by how cheerful your friends friends friends are, even if some of the people in this chain are total strangers to you.

If that's so, it creates a whole new paradigm for the way people get sick and, more important, how to get them healthy. It may mean that an individual's well-being is the product not just of his behaviors and emotions but more of the way they feed into a larger social network. Think of that shealth Facebook-style. "We have a collective identity as a population that transcends individual identity," says Christakis. "This superorganism has an anatomy, physiology, structure and function that we are trying to understand."

In their most recent paper, published in the British Medical Journal, Christakis and Fowler explored the emotional state of nearly 5,000 people and the more than 50,000 social ties they shared. At three points during the long study, all the participants answered a standard questionnaire to determine their happiness level, so that the scientists could track changes in emotional state. That led to their intriguing finding of just how contagious happiness can be: if a subject's friend was happy, that subject was 15% more likely to be happy too; if that friend's friend was happy, the original subject was 10% more likely to be so. Even if the subject's friend's friend's friend-entirely unknown to the

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY DAVE WHEELER







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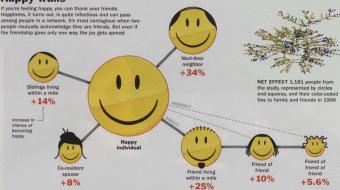
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SCIENCE | FACEBOOK

Happy Trails



Sources: Nicrolas Criticakis and James Fowler, network image courtesy of BMJ

subject—was happy, the subject still got a 5.6% boost. The happiness chain also worked in the other direction, radiating from the subject out to her friends.

The happiness dividend is more powerfult two people not only know each other but also are equally fond of each other. Happiness is more infectious in mutual relationships (in which both people name the other as a friend) than in unreciprocated ones (in which only one is named).

And it's not just in sterile study settings that the contagion of happiness is spreading. Christakis and Fowler noticed that people who are smiling on their Facebook pages tend to cluster together, forming an online social circle like a delirious flock of cyberbirds. And while some of this joy can certainly be traced to the copycat effect—if your friends post smiling pictures, you might feel like a grouch if you don't too—Christakis and Fowler are analyzing the clusters to see if something more infectious might be at work.

Skeptics raise other concerns, ones that go beyond the copycat effect. Couldn't happy people simply be exposed to similar lifestyles or social factors that explain their shared joy, such as favorable weather, low unemployment rates or a winning baseball team? If that were the case, argue the authors, then happiness would spread more uniformly among all the relationships; instead, it varied depending on whether the friendship was mutual or merely one sided.

As the investigators teased out these factors, they found that environment didn't have nearly the power that relationships did.

The infectiousness of happiness is only the latest in a series of similar phenomena Christakis and Fowler have studied. In 2007 they published a paper showing that obesity travels across webs in a similar way, with individuals having a 57% greater risk of being overweight if they have an obese friend. The same holds true for quitting smoking, with success 30% more common among friends of quitters than among friends of smokers.

In all these cases, there's a predictable

topography to how people influence one another, one that can be reduced to a sort of social map. People who are central to their networks—who in effect are the hub through which most of the other relationships or information flows—may have the most influence on others and in turn are the most influence on others and in turn are the most influenced by them. But just be-

People who smile in their Facebook pictures cluster together online like a delirious flock of cyberbirds

cause you start off at the center of your web does not guarantee that you'll stay there. In the 1970s, smokers were more likely to occupy that focal position in their network of friends and family. Look at a similar social map today, and you'll see that the smokers have drifted to the periphery.

The better this kind of mapping becomes, the more value it has. Officials at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) are exploiting the connectedness of voungsters in online social networks, for example, to improve fluvaccination rates, not just among those under age 18 but among all the people to whom these children have ties, "Because of their social and peer networks, children have a higher likelihood of sharing information with the most people," says Jay Bernhardt of the CDC. By targeting youngsters on these sites with information about the importance of annual flu shots, health officials hope to trigger a literal and figurative viral wave of vaccination among the kids' peers, their peers' peers, and even those peers' parents and grandparents. "We are always looking for exciting

new areas of research that will help people live healthier," says Richard Suzman, director of the division of behavioral and social research at the National Institute on Aging. "Without a doubt, I see this as a very promising area." And with the health community a web like any other, expect that idea to spread further and further.

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take on business and the
economy, go to time.com/
curiouscapitalist

No, we're not about to relive the 1930s. But we may have to expand our economic vocabulary

IT WAS ONLY ON THE FIRST OF DECEMBER that we finally got formal permissionfrom the Business Cycle Dating Committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER)-to call what the U.S. economy is experiencing a recession. Just a few days later, after the Labor Department announced that U.S. employers shed 533,000 jobs in November and 1.2 million since August, some were agitating to ditch the R word and replace it with the more ominous Done, "Shall we call it a depression now?" asked former Labor Secretary Robert Reich. "The threat of a widespread depression is now real and present," argued the University of Maryland's Peter Morici.

It's a little hard to know what to make of such portentous statements, given that there is no agreed-upon dividing line between recessions and depressions, and no descriptive word in between. 'It's a recession when your neighbor loses his job, 'Harry Truman once quipped. 'It's a depression when you lose yours.' What Recit and Mortic seemed to be groping for—other than media exposure (mission accomplished!)—was a way to express that the current downturn may be a more serious phenomenon than other recessions of the post-World War II er a.

In terms of length, this recession already looks likely to break the postwar record of 16 months set in 1973-75 and equaled in 1984-82. The NBER has deemed December 2007 the start date (because that's when employment peaked), and it's very hard to find anybody willing to predict that the economy will resume groung by May. As for severity, though the first

'A lot of it comes from historical experience, and this is a time for which we don't have a lot of good historical parallels.' eight months of the recession were quite mild, the pace of job losses since August is beginning to rival that of the big 1970s and '80s recessions. So while President elect Barack Obama and others who dub this the worst downturn since the Great Depression don't have definitive evidence just yet, they're not blowing smoke either.

There's a yawning gap, though, between the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s—when gross domestic product



fell 2% to 3% and the unemployment rate rose 4 percentage points-and the conditions of the early 1930s. During the Great Depression, the economy shrank more than 26% over four years. The unemployment rate rose from about 2% to 25%. There are a lot of good reasons—the activism of the Federal Reserve, payments from Social Security and unemployment insurance that act as economic stabilizers, and the incoming Administration's plans for big-time fiscal stimulus—to think that won't happen again. But there are also good reasons-mainly the Depression-like breakdown of much of the financial system over the past 16 months-to worry.

All this makes forecasting the economic future even harder than it usually is, "It's not a science," says Kurt Karl, head

of economic research for the insurance firm Swiss Re's American operation. "A to lot of it comes from historical experience, and this is a time for which we don't have alot of good historical parallels." Karl sees continued sharp economic contraction and big job losses for the first half of next year, then a recovery. That's close to the consensus view at the moment. That doesn't mean it is right.

Another, less hopeful possibility that gets discussed a lot is the decade plus malaise lapan fell into in the 1990s after financial and real estate bubbles collapsed there. Then there's the less well known but more encouraging Scandinavian experience of the early 1990s. Sweden in particular is now held up as the model for how to restructure a busted financial system. How did that work out for the Swedish economy? It shrank for three years running, from 1991 through 1993—ending up 4% smaller before it beean erowing again.

Intuitively, this Swedish model seems like a plausible enough scenario for the U.S. today—what Reich calls a "Mini Depression," or what one commenter on my TIME.com blog has dubbed the "Great Recession."

We won't know until it actually happens. A crucial aspect of every recession is the interplay between expectations and economic reality. For a time, gloomy expectations drive consumers and businesses to cut back, deepening the recession and making everyone even gloomier. Just like now. But at some point those expectations become so dire that the real economy begins to surprise on the upside, and the way is cleared for recovery. In early October, pollsters commissioned by CNN, after describing the economic conditions of the Great Depression, asked respondents if a return to such misery was likely. Almost 60% said yes. And perhaps one of these months, be it in 2009 or 2010, these people might just be pleasantly surprised by the economy's performance and start buying stuff again.

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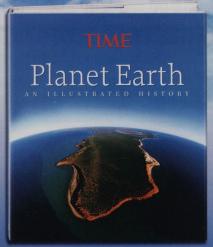
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A comprehensive look back at the year through a collection of serious and not-so-serious Top 10 lists

By the staff of TIME magazine, in collaboration with karlssonwilker inc.











Madonna and Guy Ritchie Christopher Buckley and the National Review Brett Favre and the Green Bay Packers

- Dreamworks and Paramount Jimmy Kimmel and Sarah Silverman -(although apparently they're dating again) Hugh Hefner and Holly Madison

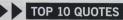
Jerry Yang and Yahoo! shareholders -Anne Hathaway and Raffaello Follieri Sean Hannity and Alan Colmes -George Clooney and Sarah Larsen











1. "It's been a long time coming, but tonight, because of what we did on this day, in this election, at this defining moment, change has come to America." BARACK OBAMA, U.S. President elect, di

2. "So you'll walk me down the aisle?"

3. "Think of us like a coast guard." SUGULE ALL

5. "Only God who appointed me will remove me."

ROBERT MUGABE

4. "If I had perfect foresight, I would never have taken this job in the first place." RICHARD F. SYRON, Freddie Mac's

6. "It's the longest Hail Mary pass in the history of either football or Marys."

BARNEY FRANK, Democra

7. "So?" DICK CHENEY



10. "They needed a small, victorious war." 9. "The path will be a little easier next time." 8. "I thought I'd host an end-of-theworld party, but the media might take it seriously." STEPHEN HAWKING.



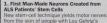
TOP 10 U.S.

LOTTERY

JACKPOTS

TOP 10 MEDICAL BREAKTHROUGHS

By Alice Park



disease, or ALS.

2. Inflammation vs. Cholesterol in **Heart Disease**

A study confirms reducing inflammation is just as important as reducing cholesterol when it comes to the treatment of heart disease.

3. Scarless Surgery Making only a few internal incisions, California surgeons remove a woman's appendix via her

4. Genomes of and for the Masses

A commercially available test makes it possible for anyone to map his entire genome and reveal some of its potentially useful, or simply interesting, secrets-for \$399 and a little spit

5. New Genes Unlock Alzheimer's Four new genes may help explain why nerve

cells die in this degenerative brain disorder. 6. A Five-in-One Vaccine

Kids can rejoice: Pentacel combines five shots in

one and cuts recommended injections by 30%. 7. Gene Screen for Breast Cancer SPOT-Light mines a woman's genes to predict

who will respond to the cancer drug Herceptin. 8. Alternative Test for Down Syndrome No need for needles; a new genetic test may detect Down with a blood sample from the

mom-to-be. 9. Seasick Patch for Cancer Patients

Chemo patients can stick it to nausea with a patch that calms the stomach for up to five days. 10. Stem-Cell Trachea Transplant

Spanish doctors give a woman a windpipe made from a donor trachea and her own stem cells.





MEMORABLE OLYMPIC MOMENTS

By Sean Gregory



TOP 10 CAMPAIGN SLOGANS

- Barack Obama. Yes We Can
 John McCain. Country First
- Hillary Clinton. Solutions for America
 Mike Muckahee, Faith, Family, Freedy
 - Mike Huckabee. Faith. Family. Freedom
 Mitt Romney. True Strength for America's Future
 Rudy Glullani. Tested. Ready. Now
 - 7. John Edwards. Tomorrow Begins Today!
 - 8. Fred Thompson. Security. Unity. Prosperity 9. Ron Paul, Hope for America
- 10. Mike Gravel. Let the People Decide







1. Phelps' Photo Finish

Going for his seventh gold medal in Beiling, an winth would have tied his tally with Mark Spitz's Munich record, Michael Phelps was in a poof full of trouble. Halfway through the 100-m butterfly, he was stuck in seventh place. Even as he made a furious sevend out of reach. Then Cavic made a fatal mistake, gliding toward the finish, while Phelps snuck hi an extra half-stroke and touched the wall .0.1 sec. ahead.

2. Lightning Bolt

When Jamaican sprinter Usain Bolt spread his arms and slapped his chest at the finish of the 100-m sprint, many fans thought the gesture cost him a world record. Then, on the board: 9.69 sec., the fastest in human history.

3. Grand Opening

The Olympic opening ceremonies rarely match the drama of the athletic events, but that changed in Beijing. More than 15,000 Chinese performers took part, including 2,008 percussionists and a troph lighter companying.

including 2,008 percussionists and a torch lighter suspended from wires.

4. Age-Old Controversy
For China, perhaps no medal was as sweet, or controversial, as that of its women's gymnastics team. Their tininess prompted officials to check that

5. Redeemed Team

Spain proved a surprisingly tough competitor in the men's basketball finals. With eight minutes left, the U.S. led by only two, 91-89. But Kobe Bryant and the gang won, 118-107.

they were all at least 16. They were.

6. China's Hurdles Heartbreak

Chinese hurdler Liu Xiang, a national favorite, never made it off the starting blocks. Rarely has a busted Achilles tendon rendered so many speechless.

7. Reaching New Heights Pole vaulter Yelena Isinbayeva had the

Bird's Nest to herself, and 80,000 fans focused on her when she sprinted down the runway, set her pole and soared higher than any woman had before.

8. Tragedy and Triumph

After his father-in-law was murdered, U.S. men's volleyball coach Hugh McCutcheon led his team to gold.

9. India (Finally) Hits Its Target The world's second biggest population gets its first individual gold—in air rifle.

10. Upset on the Mat Henry Cejudo, 21, became the youngest wrestling champ in U.S. history.





There's nothing sweeter than a phone that does everything.

The new Samsung Omnia" touchscreen mobile phone. With full Internet, email, Windows Mobile 6.1 GPS and a 5.0 megapixel camera. Pretty sweet, huh? www.samsungmobileusa.com

SAMSUNG





TOP 10 EVERYTHING

TOP 10 MOVIES

y Richard Corliss

5. Milk (U.S.) Affable, driven and gay, Harvey Milk was a San Francisco politician who succeeded by inspiring crowds rather than making back-room deals. This exceptional docudrama starring Sean Penn is a how-to exercise in marshaling dozens of characters and one big political issue into exemplary, edifying entertainment.



1. WALL+E (U.S.) director and co-writer. deprived his two main charactersthe humble, lonely trash compactor WALL-E and his space princess Eve-of emotional signifiers like a mouth, eyebrows, shoulders and elbows yet still connected with a huge audience. No other movie blended art and heart as spectacularly.

2. Synecdoche, New York (U.S.) Ambition. That's what most indie films lack and what Charlie Kaufman's directorial debut has in his epic tragicomedy about a theater director with dreams as big as New York City. The year's richest, most devious film.



4. 4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days (Romania) Asswere thriller from writter-director Cristian Murgiu that focuses on Gabita (Laura Vasiliu) a pregnant college student, and her friend folia (Anamaria Marinca), who finds a man who'll give Gabita an illegal abortion. Remorselessly long takes build the suspense. Strap yourself in for a minimalist, splendidly acted horor film.



Who wants to be a millionaire? Not

show hoping his celebrity will catch the attention of ravishing Latika. The

18-year-old Jamal. He's gone on a quiz

movie tells their story in flashbacks that

illuminate India's dynamic and troubled

history and embraces the contradictions of slum drama and love story.

3. My Winnipeg (Canada) In this "docufantasia" that mixes a city's history with deranged-genius filmmaker Guy Maddim's family values, the director moves back home, hiring actors to play his relatives. Explaining the action with silent-movie intertities, Maddim wants us to understand that, in movies, nothing is real, and everything is true.



6. The Curious Case of Benjamin Button (U.S.) in this expanded, less frivolus film version of an F. Scott Fitzgerald story, Brad Pitt plays Benjamin, who's born an old man and gets a day younger every day. The movie has d



8. Iron Man (U.S.)
The weapons designed by arms manufacturer Tony
Stark (Robert Downey
Jr.) are no sieeker, and his bombs no smarter, than the narrative lines of this marvelous Marvel Comics movie about a time of the marvelous of the siee of the marvelous have the list of the list



10. Encounters at the End of the World (U.S./Germany/Antarctica)
Director-explorer Werner Herzog goes to Antarctica, Strange and affecting.



9. Speed Racer (U.S.)
With its delirion precision, nonstop Op art and virtual virtuosity, it's the future of film.



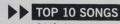
TOP 10 BANK SLOGANS



Washington Mutual: "Whoe hoo!"
Lehman Brothers: "Where vision gets built"
AIG: "The strength to be there"
indyMac: "You can count on us"
Capital One: "What's in your wallet?"
World Financial Group: "No family left behind"
Morgan Stanley: "World wise"
Security Pacific Bank: "Smarter money"
Nationwide: "Protection"
T. Rowe Price: "Invest with confidence"

1. \$2 million for children's wooden-arrow makers, proposed by Sen. Ron Wyden (D., Ore.) and Sen. Gordon Smith (R., Ore.), 2. \$1.9 million for the Charles B. Rangel Center for Public Service, proposed by Rep. Charles Rangel (D., N.Y.). 3. \$1 million for New York Woodstock Museum, proposed by Sen. Hillary Clinton (D., N.Y.) and Sen. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.), 4. \$192 million in tax cuts for rum in U.S. territories, backed by Virgin Islands delegate Donna Christensen (D.), 5. \$188,000 for the Lobster Institute at the University of Maine, proposed by Sen. Susan Collins (R., Maine) and Sen. Olympia Snowe (R., Maine) and Rep. Thomas Allen (D., Maine), 6, \$98,000 to develop a walking tour of Boydton, Va., proposed by Rep. Virgil Goode (R., Va.). 7. \$50,000 for the National Mule and Packers Museum in Bishop, Calif., proposed by Rep. Howard (Buck) McKeon (R., Calif.), 8. \$583,000 for the Montana World Trade Center, proposed by Rep. Denny Rehberg (R., Mont.). 9. \$460,752 for hops, a beer ingredient, proposed by four Senators and two Representatives from Oregon and Washington, Democratic and Republican. 10. \$150,000 for rodent control in the Aleutian Islands, proposed by Sen. Ted Stevens (R., Alaska).

TOP 10 EARMARKS



By Josh Tyrangiel





1. Election of Barack Obama When the presidential campaign began, greens might have thought they'd win either way: Obama and John McCain both supported action on climate change. But as the campaign wore on, McCain re-entered Republican orthodox, declaring his enthusiasm for fossil fuels, while Obama built a program around alternative-energy investment to create green jobs,

TOP 10 GREEN STORIES

program around alternative-energy investment to create green jobs. 2. Congress Passes Renewable-Energy Credits The tax credits that helped build the solar and wind industries in the U.S. were set to expire by the end of 2008, which would have gutted the renewableenergy industry. Partisan gridlock prevented them from being

passed until they were tacked onto October's ballout bill.

3. Offshore-Drilling Debate The chant reverberated from Anchorage to Miami: "Drill, baby, drill," Despite analyses that offshore drilling would have little effect on the price of gas, the slogan caught fire.

For now, coastal waters are safe. But the debate isn't over.

4. Failure of Warner-Lieberman With President Bush firmly opposed, the first national carbon cap-and-trade legislation to reach a full vote in the Senate had no chance. As gas prices soared, the bill fell

a dozen votes short of the 60 needed to beat a fillibuster.

5. New Rules: F2P Art's a Freeze on Coal Plants Dirty, cheap coal
generates 49% of the electricity in the U.S. and 30% of the country's
carbon emissions. When an obscure board at the Environmental
Protection Agency made it virtually impossible for the agency to
certify new coal plants, it hatted more than 100 currently planned.

6. Ethanol Bubble Bursts The only alternative energy to achieve scale in the U.S. has been corn ethanol, now a \$32 billion industry. But scientific studies undercut ethanol's gene credentials, while the biofuel boom was blamed for record food prices—killing the dream that comfields would replace oil field.

7. Polar Bear Listed Interior Secretary Dirk Kempthorne announced that the polar bear would be listed as "threatened" under the Endangered Species Act, the first animal added as a result of global warming, but emphasized that the listing would in no way be used to force reductions in U.S. carbon emissions.

8. Indonesia Warms to Less Deforestation Currently, there's no program in which developing countries can trade a promise not to clear their forests for cash, like a reverse carbon credit. But in November, Indonesia took the first step in setting up a system that would enable Americans to pay it to preserve its rain forest.
9. First CO₂ Auction Northeastern utilities bid 33.8.5 million for the

right to emit 12.5 million tons of CO₂.

10. Oxford English Dictionary Word of the Year: Hypermiling Definition: driving to get extreme mileage out of your gas.

1. JONATHAN FERREY—GETTY; 2; ROBERT NICKELSBERG—GETTY; 9: DAVID MCNEW—GETTY; 4: JAY L. CLENDENIN—POLARIS; 5: ROBERT NICKELSBERG—GETTY; 6: DANNY WILCOX FRAZIER—REDUX; 7; STEVEN KAZLOWSKI—ALASKA STOCK; 8; DIMAS ARDIAN—GE

TOP 10 STRANGE BABY NAMES

3. "Oh My God," Ida Maria

A million songs have been recorded with these three guitar chords and selfimportant lyrics, but not with the voice of 24-year-old Norwegian Ida Maria Borli Sivertsen-deep, commanding, a bit masculine and with lots of feeling.

4. "A Milli," Lil Wayne -

Like all rappers, Lil Wayne rarely lets a song go by without declaring at some point that he's ill. The difference is that he really seems to be. His crazy, offbalance wordplay, which he claims is spontaneous, is hypnotic.

5. "White Winter Hymnal," Fleet Foxes This chorale roundelay about a school trip to the woods in winter is just 52 words and 21/2 minutes long. Songs don't get tinier, but the Fleet Foxes' miniature tale is as quaint and precious as a Joseph Cornell box

6. "Burnin' Up," Jonas Brothers

In an almost perfectly constructed pop song, Disney's adorable little cash registers sing about their infatuation in a credible R&B falsetto over power guitar chords. Edgy it ain't, but no one tops the Jonases on sweetness.

7. "Single Ladies (Put a Ring on It)," Beyoncé

Ludicrously infectious, it works because Beyoncé cuts through all the racket like a train whistle and seems to believe every word she sings.

8. "Time to Pretend," MGMT Simultaneously detached and

wrenching, with a space-pop melody that starts as a joke and ends in

genuine sadness.
9. "Rockferry," Duffy
Aimee Anne Duffy isn't singing; she's announcing her arrival. As

debuts go, it's hard to think of a recent one that's as instantly attention-grabbing. 10. "Going On," Gnarls Barkley

Just a sweet soul song about moving past a relationship without bitterness. If that's not weird enough for you, check out the video.





TOP 10 SCANDALS

By Rebecca Winters Keegan



TOP 10 GADGETS

1. Optoma Pico PK101 Of all the gadgets on this list, this is the one that James Bond is most likely to carry. That is, it's the coolest gadget of the year. It's a pocket projector-meaning you plug the 4-in. gizmo into your iPod or iPhone, and it projects your movies on a wall, or even on the seat back in front of you on a plane. It displays images crisply on a surface as close as 8 in. and as distant as 8 ft., even in daylight. The superbright Pico weighs 4 oz. and is smaller than many cell phones. A cautionary note: the sound output is dinky, so you'll want to use it with headphones or an external speaker, which makes it bulkier. Price: \$399

2. Mitsubishi LaserVue 65-in. HDTV if you've got several thousand dollars to blow on a TV, chances are you've also got all kinds of other ways to entertain yourself. But this one is, guite simply, the best. The first HDTV to successfully use lasers for its display, it has a wider gamut of color than-and consumes half the electricity of-its similar-size rivals, whether LCD or plasma. Price: \$6,999

3. Apple IPhone 3G It doesn't handle e-mail as well as the cheapest BlackBerry, and as a cell phone, it's nothing special. But it launched the era of mobile computing. With thousands of applications to download, taking advantage of such innovations as onboard GPS and an array of sensors, including a motion-sensing accelerometer, the iPhone can do just about everything else. Price: \$199 4. Nikon D90 it's a single-lens reflex camera! It's a single-lens video camera! It's

two digital cameras in one, making it the first camera you should consider if you're ready for a hefty upgrade. Price: \$1,300

1. Eliot Spitzer's Fall

One minute he was the hard-charging New York governor whose political future seemed limitless. The next he was "client No. 9," a late-night talk-show host's punch line. In March, in the wake of revelations that Spitzer, 49, had met with a \$1,000-an-hour call girl named Ashley Alexandra Dupré and patronized a highpriced prostitution ring multiple times, the Democrat announced that he would resign his post as governor.



4. Miley Cyrus' Vanity Fair Photos

When the star of Disney Channel's Hannah Montana appeared in Vanity Fair wrapped in a bedsheet with her back exposed, some parents were outraged. Disney claimed she'd been manipulated, Cyrus apologized, and photographer Annie Leibovitz

maintained the photos were "beautiful." 5. Sarah Palin's \$150,000 Wardrobe Her hockey-mom image took a hit with news she was wearing clothes that cost more than a three-bedroom house in Wasilla, Alaska,

6. Teen Pregnancies in Gloucester, Mass. When 17 students got pregnant at Gloucester High School, principal Joseph Sullivan told TIME it was partly the result of a pact among a group of girls to get pregnant at the same time. Others denied

that story. Sullivan resigned 7. Ted Stevens' Felony Convictions The Alaska Senator's renovations proved more costly than he estimated. Eight days 85, guilty of accepting and concealing tens of thousands of dollars in home renovations and gifts. He was voted out.



TOP 10 MOST FUEL-EFFICIENT VEHICLES

- Toyota Prius, 46.65 (miles per ga nda Civic hybrid, 42.25
- 3. Nissan Altima hybrid, 34.1 4. Toyota Camry hybrid, 33.45
- Ford Escape/Mercury Mariner/Mazda Tribute hybrids, 32.2
- 6. Toyota Yaris, 32.15 7. Toyota Corolla, 32.05

- 8. Honda Fit. 30.
- 9. Honda Civic, 29.6















By Frances Romero



2. AIG's Post-Bailout Spa Retreat

Just a week after American International Group received an \$85 billion bailout from the Federal Government-ostensibly to rescue the insurance company from financial ruin-70 of its top performers enjoyed a \$400,000 retreat at the Tuscan-

inspired St. Regis Resort in California. 3. John Edwards' Extramarital Affair It's hard to think of a better way to torpedo your political future than to cheat on your

well-liked wife of 31 years while she is in remission from breast cancer and vou're in the middle of a presidential campaign.

8. Max Mosley's Sex Romp

A British tabloid released video of Mosley. head of European Grand Prix racing, engaging in sadomasochistic sex acts with five prostitutes. Mosley's term as FIA president expires in October 2009

9. Senatorship for Sale? Federal prosecutors say Illinois Governor Rod Blagojevich tried to trade the Senate seat vacated by Barack Obama for gain

10. The Olympics' 9-Year-Old Lip-Syncher Lin Miaoke She appeared to sing "Ode to the Motherland" at the opening ceremonies, but the audience heard the voice of 7-yearold Yang Peivi, deemed not cute enough,

1. Big Win for Farm Animals California passed Proposition 2, which means that by 2015, egg-laying chickens, veal calves and pregnant pigs will have to be given enough room to stand up, turn around, lie down and extend

2. New First Pup Websites, petitions and headlines weighed in on what type of dog the Obamas should take to the White House. An online poll suggested a poodle, in part because it would not irritate First Daughter Malia's allergies.

3. President's Dog Bites Man! The usually affable Bush dog Barney, a Scottish terrier, bit a reporter who tried to pet him. Democracy abided, 4. Navy Trumps Whales In November, the Supreme Court ruled that the Navy

could use sonar during training exercises, even though studies have shown that some sonar pulses may damage whales' and dolphins' hearing and can also hinder their ability to mate, find food and navigate.

5. Elephant Herpes The extremely popular and precocious Mac, 2, became the sixth endangered Asian elephant born or kept at the Houston Zoo to die of elephant herpes since 2000. Zoo officials noted that elephants die of herpes in the wild too.

6. Foreclosure Victim: A 44-lb. (20 kg) Cat This colossal kitty got the heave-ho from his New Jersey owner when her home was foreclosed. He ended up at an animal shelter, was featured on TV and found his way to a new, low-carb home.

7. World's Longest Insect A new species of stick insect. Phobaeticus chani. was identified by British scientists in Borneo as the longest in the world: 22 in. with its legs fully extended.

8. Monkeys Pay for Sex A study published in Animal Behavior found that male long-tailed macaques in Indonesia traded grooming services for sex with females. The amount of time males spent nit-picking dwindled the more females there were

9. Monkeys Wait Tables Too A video of macagues (them again!) serving drinks and hot towels in a Japanese restaurant became a hit on YouTube. Restaurant owner Kaoru Otsuka said he did not teach the monkeys waiting skills.

10. Puppycam In years past, the big obsession was with pandacams. But in 2008, animal lovers flocked to see streaming video of six baby Shiba Inus. whose owners set up a live feed so they could watch the pups from work. Aww



5. foxL Bluetooth Portable Speaker A pocket-size Bluetooth speaker for your MP3 player, it's also a hands-free communication system. Though no bigger than an eyeglasses case, the speaker transmits sound that's rich enough to please a cranky audiophile. Wirelessly tether it to your cell phone, take it along in the car, and a built-in microphone allows you to handle calls on the road. Price: \$249 6. Sennheiser MX W1 Wireless Headphones Five hundred shekels is a lot to lay out for headphones. But this earbuds-transmitter combo is worth it, just for the great sound, Price: \$499

7. Flip Video MinoHD This iPod-size camcorder shoots high-definition video, adheres to Mino's one-button simplicity and comes with its own editing software onboard, Price: \$230



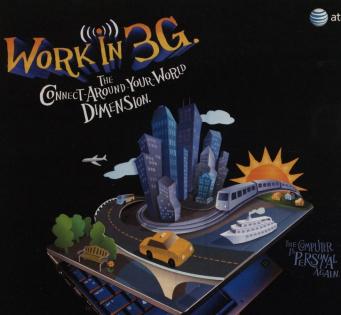
8. Kindle Amazon's digital-book-reading device definitely takes some getting used to, but it's simply a terrific tool for people who love to read books. Travelers will especially enjoy the luxury of taking a library on the road, and the Kindle can connect to a high-speed cellular network that delivers books on demand. Price: \$359

9. Roku Netflix Box One day, video-on-demand streaming through devices like the Roku box will

10. Sony PlayStation Home for PS3 This virtual world is a great reason to buy Sony's pricey PS3 video-game console. Price: free









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TOP 10 FASHION FAUX PAS

By Belinda Luscombe



Vogue Editor Looks Silly When the history of modern fashion is written, this will be its Waterloo, The unimpeachably stylish Vogue editor Anna Wintour turns up at the fashion event of the year, the Met's Costume Institute Gala in New York City, which she is co-hosting-it just doesn't get any better than this-in a dress that makes her look as if she were encrusted with giant fossils. Fashionistas, how they love to look old.



We See Gwyneth's ... There's a lot to admire about Gwyneth Paltrow-the Oscar, the lovely children, the rockstar husband. What's really she wore to a Paris premiere in November, however, is that she found shoes that matched the frock pound for pound in utter wrongheadedness. That takes an eve.



Christian Puts Too Much Faith in Gold Black tie can get boring. And Christian Siriano, who won the fourth season of Project Runway, has made it very clear that he's allergic to boring. But come on now, this shirt smacks of a 1982 Galveston High School production of Saturday Night Fever. And not in a good way.



Janet from Another Planet Let's set aside.

for the purposes of this discussion, the hair. Once you've done that, there are really only two problems anyone can have with

the outfit Janet Jackson donned to open the concerts of her Rock Witchu tour: a) the

Put a Ring on It.

Or at Least an Overcoat Beyoncé and her sister Solange Knowles always give generously to the cause of What Were You Thinking? But this rejected superhero outfit is so fantastically wrong for her, it's almost sacrificial. There's nothing to say but thank you, Beyoncé. And please, please, keep up the good work.



When Good Chanel Goes Bad You have to feel a little sympathy for Kate Bosworth here. She's going to a Chanel event as Chanel designer Karl Lagerfeld's date. It's an honor and so forth. Then he puts her in an ensemble that looks like stacked muffin tins. There's naught she can do but grin and bear it, which she gamely attempts to do.



Even Suri Couldn't Revive This Look The best fashion faux pas are ones wherein people who are usually the gold standard inexplicably lose their bearings. Exhibit A: Katie Holmes. Oct. 16, New York City, in



No Good Muppet Goes Unpunished Good grief. Did Madonna kill Oscar

Paula, Meet Restraint. Restraint, Paula For weeks afterward, organizers of the awards ceremony puzzled over how Paula Abdul managed to sneak her pet Labradoodle into the show.



My Other Outfit Is Ridiculous O.K., so Don (Hollywood) Yates is an American Gladiator. That might explain the rings, tattoos, hair and leather cuffs. And logically, what says "manly fighting" more than a double-breasted, sleeveless, floor-length paisley frock coat? I feel bad for his grandma, though-what's she going to do for drapes?





TOP 10 UNDER-REPORTED STORIES

Ry Laura Fitznatrio



- The Pentagon's Nuclear Snafu
 Those helicopter batteries the
 Pentagon thought it shipped to Taiwan
 back in 2006? In March the Defense
 Department was informed that they
 were actually fuses for triggering
- nuclear warheads. Whoops.

 2. A Million Congolese Displaced
 Fighting in the Democratic Republic of
 Congo has grown steadily worse; by
 October, about 1 million people had
- been forced to flee their homes.

 3. Srl Lankan Conflict Deadlier Than
 Afghanistan's In January the Sri Lankan
 government pulled out of its shaky
 cease-fire with the rebel Tamil Tigers.
 Foreign journalists and aid groups were
- barred from the war zone.

 4. Victory for Mental-Health Advocates
 Buried in October's financial bailout was
 a provision that requires insurers to
 provide equal coverage for mental and
 physical health.
- S. Coming Soon? Genetically Modified Meat In September the U.S. Food and Drug Administration released draft guidelines on how to regulate genetically engineered animals for food production.
- 6. Churches Decide Against Pedophilia Database The Southern Baptist Convention rejected a proposal to create a central database of staff and clergy who have been convicted of or indicted
- for molesting minors.

 7. Reverse Immigration Legions of Mexican immigrants have been heading home because of the economic crisis.

 8. Gap in Genetic Nondiscrimination
 Act A new Jewy forbide ILS health

Act A new law forbids U.S. health insurers and employers to discriminate on the basis of DNA tests but excludes long-term-care insurers.

9. U.S. Ships Sand from Kuwait Radioactive sand, 6,700 tons of it, was moved from an air base to near Boise, Idaho. 10. U.S.-Venezuela Relations at New Low President Hugo Chávez expelled ambassador over alleged U.S. backing of a coup plot against him.

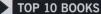
FICTION

1. The Forever War, by Dexter Filkins
The gaping wounds of Afghanistan
and Iraq have produced a torrent of
words, but no others with this volume's
precision and power. Filkins' set pieces
have the clarity of lightning flashes that

 The Thief at the End of the World, by Joe Jackson Dreamy, ungifted and of modest means, young Henry Wickham set off for the Amazon in 1866 to collect feathers for hats. When that venture failed, he smuggled 70,000 rubber-tree seeds out of Brazil, handling England a key resource of the 20th century.

burn away the fog of war.

- 3. The Snowball: Warren Buffett and the Business of Life, by Alice Schroeder You've met Buffett the investor. Meet Buffett the guy: an emotionally needy spouse and absentee father who avoids anyone he fears might criticize him.
- 4. The World Is What It Is, by Patrick French An authorized but unflinching biography of V.S. Naipaul, perfect for an author who has spent much of his writing life teasing out his own enigmas.
- 5. The Suspicions of Mr. Whicher, by Kate Summerscale A true crime tale that takes place around the time of the founding of Scotland Yard and the birth of forensic science.



By Lev Grossman and Radhika Jones

1. 2666, by Roberto Bolaño Baffling, maddening, difficult, violent, obscene, overindulgent and way too long, 2666 is also the best novel of the year. The two central plots are, loosely, the life story of a mysterious German novelist and the hunt for a serial killer. But mostly it's a work of anger and anarchy that laughs bitterly at the idea of tidy resolutions.

Lush Life, by Richard Price
 A great novel of social observation
 about a crime in a hyperdeveloping
 neighborhood in Manhattan. The
 cynical, tenacious cops utter the best
 dialogue anywhere.

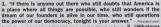
- 3. American Wife, by Curtis Sittenfeld Alice Blackwell mirrors a certain soonto-be-former First Lady, but you don't need to be interested in the Bushes or politics to reap this novel's rewards.
- 4. Anathem, by Neal Stephenson
 The author creates an entire planet
 from scratch and stages on it a
 visceral thriller driven by philosophical
 and quantum-physical theories about
 alternate universes.
- 5. Unaccustomed Earth, by Jhumpa Lahiri Finely tuned, hypnotic stories about splintering families and thwarted passion.





TOP 10 POLITICAL LINES

By Randy James



Brack Obers, delivering his election-night votory speech in Chicago on Nov. 4. 2. "Whatever our differences, we are fellow Americans. And please believe me when I say no association has ever meant more to me than that."

four years ago." — McCain to Obama during the third and final presidential details on Oct. 15.

"The old boys' network? In the McCain campaign, that's called a staff meeting." —Obama, about McCain, in Eliko, Nev., on Sept. 17. 6. "I guess a

small-town mayor is sort of like a 'community organizer,' except that you have actual responsibilities." —Pain, referring to Osama's earlier carer in Chicago, at the Republican National Coversion on Sept. 3. 7, "I have so many opportunities from

at the Republican National Convention on Sept. 3. 4. "I have so many opportunities from this country. I just don't want to see us fall backwards."—Secated History Clariton, tearing up in New Hampschie on Jan. 7. 8. "I can no more disown him than I can my disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother." "Observa, metering to big former postorte there, versilla Weigel on Mech 18.

9. "Is there something wrong with being a Muslim in this country? The answer's no. That's not America. Is there something wrong with some Tyear-old Muslim-American kid believing that he or she could be President?" —General Colin Power, returning to the taken runors about Ocean's faith while endorsing the

Democratic presidential nominee on NBC's Meet the Press on Oct. 10. 10. "When I got knocked down by guys bigger than me—and this is the God's truth—she sent me back out and said, "Bloody their nose so you can walk down the street the next day." And that's what I did."—Senter the Biden, referring the boshood

advice from his mother, at the Democratic National Convention on Aug. 27.

y David Van Biem



Top 10 List of Lists

Schinder's List
 Harper's Index
 Harper's Index
 Billboard Top 10 Singles Ch
 Letterman's Top 10
 TIME's Top 10 Lists
 FBI's blackfast
 TAAK's not fyliat
 Feant List!

YOUR PERSONAL TOP 10 OF 2008

10 THINGS LOST FOREVER

- 1. The House That Ruth Built: old
- Yankee Stadium
- 2. Bill Gates as Microsoft CEO
- 3. Lehman Brothers
- The Nepalese monarchy
 The print edition of the Christian
- Science Monitor
 6. Mark Spitz's record for number of
- gold medals won at an Olympics 7. Polaroid instant film
- 8. Incilius holdridgei, a.k.a. Holdridge's toad

1. The Economy Trumps Religion A pastor—Rick Warren—moderated an encounter between John McGain and Barack Obama: expreacher Miernal run; the Rev. Jeremiah Wright and crun; the Rev. Jeremiah Wright and change in the Rev. Jeremiah Wright and Americans regarded the country's moral and spiritual condition as their foremost weep sushed religion off the table.

2. Never Court Out the Mormons in April, police removed 400 children from the ranch of a small, breakaway and still polygamous fundamentalist Latter-day Saints sect. Then Mitt Romney tanked in the Republican primaries, but in a show of discipline and unity, California Mormons—less than 3% of the state's electorate—co-financed the victory of Proposition 8 against gay marriage.

3. The Pope Wows the States Benedict XVI stunned and impressed followers during his U.S. visit by relentlessly addressing the church's sex-abuse scandal. He admitted "deep shame," met with the abused and accepted a book listing 1,500 victims—and their subsequent struggles.

4. The Canterbury Nontale The oncea-decade global gathering of Anglican bishops in Canterbury, England—billed for years as the venue for a final smackdown between Western liberals and the poorer, more populous conservatives—turned into a nonbinding nonevent.

5. America's Unfaithful Faithful A 35,000-person Pew Forum poll found that 28% of adults in the U.S. have left their cradle faith for another one; 44% have changed denominations.

6. Buddhist Monks Rebel Before the Olympics, China suppressed demonstrations against its rule by hundreds of Buddhist monks in Tibet. Days later, ethnic Tibetans rioted, killing ethnic Chinese before a suspiciously slow

government crackdown.
7. The Birth of the New Evangelicalism
After many years of Evangelical leaders
like Jim Wallis, Tony Campolo and Ron
Sider urging their flocks to care about
economic inequality, international aid and
the environment, powerful pastors like
Florida's Joel Hunter and California's Rick
Warren started to add their voices too.

8. The Challenge of Recession The tottering economy gives faith groups new pastoral challenges, greater charity obligations and emptier offering plates. How they respond may define them for

9. When Kosher Wasn't Kosher A raid on a kosher-meat-processing plant in lowa highlighted unethical practices.

10. Extraterrestrials May Already Be

Saved, says a Vatican astronomer. (Confirmation pending.)

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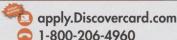
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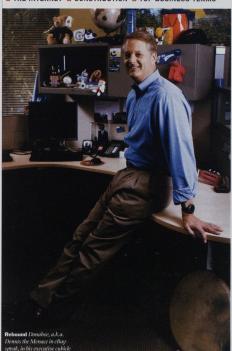
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eBay Bids for Revitalization.

New boss John Donahoe is shaking up the onetime online growth machine

BY KRISTINA DELL

LIKE EVERYONE ELSE AT EBAY'S SAN JOSE, Calif., campus, John Donahoe sits in a cubicle. Though this is one of the dotcom biz's oldest clichés, the company's 6-ft. 5-in. new CEO really does use the cramped spacefilled with eBay trinkets and pictures of his wife (an Obama campaign fundraiser) and four children (all basketball players and eBay users)-as his primary office. That visibility and openness has earned Donahoe, brought in by Meg Whitman from Bain & Co. three years ago and promoted to replace her in March, respect from employees and customers alike. The conference room where Donahoe holds meetings has a small DENNIS THE MENACE nameplate on the door. He explains the eBay tradition whereby colleagues name your conference room after a cartoon character. "It's because I tend to have a smile on my face, but I'm maybe a little more devilish and firmer than people realize," he says, looking very much like a grownup version of the impish comic-strip kid. "You can have a smile and be quite firm-it's tough love with a little bit of humor built in."

Tough love is a very fitting description for the Chicago native's eBay tenure so far. In the nine months since assuming the top job.



New sheriff Donahoe, left, gives top eBay seller Jack Sheng an award. He's added better policing to ID good guys and bad

the former Dartmouth basketball player, 48, has shown a penchant for shaking things up. In October he acquired three companies on the same day that he laid off 10% of eBay's 16,000 workers worldwide—a way to boost efficiency in a tougher economic climate.

Although you'd think that eBay's flagship marketplace business, a site where peopleg to buy and sell stuff, would flourish in a downturn, it has stopped growing. It's still unclear how badly the credit crisis and buying slowdown will affect an e-commerce value site like eBay, which does half its business outside the U.S. During the 2007 recession, eBay's marketplace continued to thrive because of its Web dominance and discounted goods. Whitman at the time even crowed that "eBay's to some extent recession proof."

Today that statement seems wishful thinking. In the third quarter, for the first time, transactions on eBay's marketplace, a key metric of growth, fell 1%, to \$14.3 billion, from a year ago. The strength and popularity of Google's search, Amazon's sales and the sheer number of other Web retail sites have eroded eBay's dominance, making it harder to compete with the same business model that steered the firm through its first 10 years of jaw-dropping growth. Three years ago, eBay boasted 30% more traffic than Amazon, but today its 84.5 million active users scarcely best Amazon's 81 million customers. The troubled economy and weakness in eBay's core business contributed to a 60% drop in market value this year. Amazon's market cap topped eBay's for the first time last summer. "eBay used

to own all the on and off ramps, and now it's just another highway," says Scot Wingo, chief executive of ChannelAdvisor, a consultancy that works with online retailers. "They have to figure out how to reorient the eBay brand to mean more than auctions and learn to become a leader again."

Whitman, a.k.a. Blondie, her eBay nickanne, had an impressive 10-year run, but when eBay's slowdown began, she tried to buy her way out of the problem, acquiring companies like PayPal, Skype, Shopping.com and StubFub to generate growth. Many were profitable but distracting, as problems like lack of trust and shoddy search technology continued to all the auction site, the main revenue driver. "Meg was reluctant to expand things like customer service because it would eat into eBay's margins," says leffrey Lindsay, serior analyst al Sanford C. Bernstein.

That's why Donahoe, a Whitman hire at both eBay and Bain, where he spent more than 20 years, eventually becoming its CEO, carried out a series of rapid-fire changes. He emphasized, for example, fixed-price sales over auctions and got his mitts on the hands off approach that has defined eBay for years. Many wonder whether the z-year-old auc-

eBay by the Numbers

- Sales: \$7.7 billion (2007)
- Net income: \$348 million (2007)
- Market cap: \$17.1 billion
- Stock: \$10.91-\$35.12 (52 weeks, NASDAQ)

 Approximate live listings: 112 million
- Live listings added daily: 7.1 million

 Cyber Monday: 13 million visitors

tion giant will emerge with the same DNA once Dennis the Menace departs. "Donahoe has introduced more changes in the last six months than we've seen in the last six months than the self-entity Corp., an electronics company and top selfer on eBay." Many are long overdue, but the direction is great." Others hate the upheaval. Writes a current eBay software engineer about Donahoe on Glassdoor.com, a company-rating site: "Quit! We don't like vour changes!"

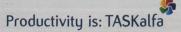
That's where Donahoe's tough love comes in. First, he's acquiring companies like Bill Me Later, a payment system, and Danish classified a dister that have synergy with eBay's brand. He's also re evaluating whether to spin off Skype, the voice-own P phone-system acquisition that was Whitman's biggest mistake, not to mention a St.4 billion write off. E89 overpaid for a company that doesn't directly benefit the core business. Donahoe also launched a new search platform to better catalog the zon million live listings.

To promote the site as more than a bid-ding exchange. Donahoe has given buyers more choice. He's encouraged fixed price listingsover auctions by having a Buy It Now price for most products and has reduced the fees to list items, while taking a bigger cut if a product selfs: "We've done exactly what our sellers wanted, and sure enough, they are listing a lot more," says Donahoe. "The selection on eBay has never been greater,"

Next Donahoe clamped down on frautob build trust to keep customers coming back. "In the Meg Whitman days, eBay didn't have any customer service," says Lindsay of Sanford C. Berstein. "If something went wrong, it was tough luck, buddy." Today if payPal—a payment company owned by eBay that has seen tremendous growth the sale is guaranteed for the full price.

the sale is guaranteed for the full price.
Similarly, Donabet weaked the Detailed
Seller Ratings (DSR8) to improve the quality of sellers and weed out untrustworthy
ones gaming the system. Today sellers
can no longer rate buyers since many
were threatening negative reviews as a
retaliation for their own low marks, rendering the rating system useless. Now sellers with low grades have their accounts
frozen, while ones with high scores get
fee discounts for good behavior. While
many of the changes are so new it's hard
to gauge whether they're working, in the
third quarter the highest-rated sellers
grew their business 20%. 'He's doing all

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the right things," says Lindsay. "But because the economy has gone south and eBay has fallen so far behind, he has a turnaround problem."

Unlike his predecessor, Donahoe doesn't travel with an entourage. But when he was invited to the White House in September to accept an award on eBay's behalf, he took everyone, filling up the company plane with colleagues ranging from executives to engineers. "It's rare to find a CEO that is so hands on and into details," says Sheng, one of the eBay sellers who attended the ceremony. "The has minimeetings on the fly where he listens to sellers and then unlike his staff aside to execute things."

Could the value driven eBay actually be aided by a weak economy? In theory, yes," says Derek Brown, an analyst at Cantor Fitzgerald. "In reality, not likely, because the company's own internal issues are outweighing potential positives from the economic slowdown." Nevertheless, eBay's holiday sales have gotten off to a solid start. It was the most trafficked retail site on Cyber Monday, the Monday after Thanksgiving, logging 13 million visitors, up 48% from last vear.

Yet there is a unique opportunity for a place like eBay to improve. Unlike Amazon, eBay doesn't carry inventory, lowering its risk if goods don't sell. "If you keep people happy and coming back for more, when the economy picks back up, you gain ground, and that's what we plant tod," says Donahoe. Currently, eBay makes up about 14% of e-commerce, but e-commerce presents only 7% of retail. "If wer'e still in the early stage of e-commerce growth, both eBay and Amazon can thrive," says Imman Khan, managing director at JPMorgan. "I would not necessarily say it's a zore 'sum game."

Still, with every platform tweak that Donahoe puts into effect, selfers have to adjust, and some have seen their profits plummet as a result. They're not shy about complaining. "There are people who say you've got to learn to ignore some of the criticism, and I don't." says Donahoe. "Feellers] are vocal because they care, and the moment they stop being yocal is the moment I am concerned." In this economic climate, he shouldn't have to worry about that.

'He's doing all the right things. But because the economy has gone south and eBay has fallen behind, he has a turnaround problem.'

— JEFFREY LINDSAY, SENIOR ANALYST, SANFORD C. BERNSTEIN



Latticework
Ferrier designed
the prototype for his
Hypergreen skyscraper,
rendered in situ, above,
and in detail, right,
with ultra-highperformance concrete
that can be up to
10 times as strong as
the standard fare



CONSTRUCTION

Cementing the Future. Architects are using stylish high-tech concrete to create beautiful—and greener—buildings

BY PETER GUMBEL/PARIS

FRENCH ARCHITECT JACQUES FERRIER IS a big fan of concrete. He has used it extensively in his latest work, including his design of the French pavilion for the zoro World's Fair in Shanghai, and believes it has strong aesthetic appeal. "It has a sensuality." The enthuses. "It evokes images of white minerality." Most of all, Perrier praises concrete for its environmental friendliness. One of his concept projects is Hypergreen, a showcase tower with a curved, concrete lattice façade, designed to generate enough energy to meet most of its own needs.

Yes, concrete. Not the cheap, gray, easily cracked soulless stuff that gave urbanization a bad name when it was slathered over. Western cities in the 1960s, but

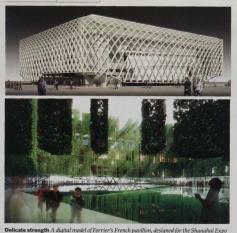
newfangled, bright-and still relatively expensive-concrete that has come on to the market this decade. High-performance concrete (or ultra-high-performance, as it's known in the industry) is up to 10 times as strong as regular concrete. It costs several times as much as standard concrete, vet industry experts say price comparisons are misleading because the hightech versions have properties that make them more comparable to materials such as stainless steel and aluminum, which can be even pricier. Those attributes give architects, engineers and builders far greater flexibility to use concrete's longlasting thermal and acoustic properties in everything from pedestrian bridges to bus stations. That in turn contributes to big energy and other environmental savings. Some of the innovations are startling: the



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reneate Strength A digital model of Ferrier's French pavillon, designed for the Shanghal Expe

white concrete that American architect Richard Meier used for the Jubilee Church in Rome, for example, contains titanium dioxide, which keeps the concrete clean while also destroying pollutants around it, like car exhaust.

High-tech concrete is just one of the products that have emerged from the research-and-development labs of cement. steel and chemicals firms this decade, and it signals an increasing commitment by heavy industry to the notion of "sustainability." As public pressure has grown to reduce energy use and carbon emissionsand in general to tread more lightly on the environment-companies in these industries have poured money into R&D efforts. Much of the work has focused on internal processes, especially on the critical task of how to lower emissions during manufacturing. But in their labs, scientists have also been playing with the materials themselves, swapping around molecules and gazing at atomic structures through electron microscopes in the hunt for new, "greener" variations. The idea is to improve the entire life cycle of the product-not just how it's made but also how it's used.

At the R&D labs of steel giant Arcelor-Mittal in Belgium, for example, researchers are trying to develop thinner, stronger

steel that can replace plastic in washing machines and other appliances. They're also experimenting with coatings that are eco-friendly and more effective in fighting corrosion, Dulux Trade, the paint subsidiary of Netherlands-based chemical firm AkzoNobel, this year started selling a new type of paint called Ecosure that sharply reduces the amount of embodied carbon and other so-called volatile organic compounds-and is being heavily marketed as "a new era in sustainability and performance." At the R&D center of French cement giant Lafarge, director Pascal Casanova waxes lyrical about Ductal, a superresilient concrete the center developed that he calls the Formula One of concrete, It's what architect Ferrier used in his 807-ft. (246 m) Hypergreen tower, a

The white concrete Richard Meier used for Rome's Jubilee Church contains titanium dioxide, which keeps the concrete clean and destroys pollutants, like car exhaust

project that wouldn't have been possible with regular concrete.

To get a sense of how technological progress is translating into environmental gains, take a trip to the research campus of Lafarge, just outside the French city of Lyons. The world's largest cement company, with sales of \$22.5 billion in 2007. Lafarge has set itself the goal by 2010 of cutting its net CO2 emissions for every ton of cement it produces to 20% below the 1990 level. But it is also steaming ahead with research efforts into smarter. stronger and less polluting products, including ultra-high-performance concrete. Research director Casanova traces the path of innovation back to the 1080s, when the first big gains were made in improving the resistance of concrete. In the two decades since, researchers have figured out how to increase that resistance by a factor of 10. "There's been a very important revolution over the past 20 years, and it's not over." Casanova says.

Stronger concrete translates into significant gains for the environment because it can be applied more thinly, consuming considerably fewer raw materials than regular concrete. (The basic mixture includes cement, stone or other aggregate and water.) Moreover, concrete has some properties that make it intrinsically energy-efficient when used in buildings. It insulates well because it's poured and thus doesn't let in wind and water. Its density also means that it stores heat during the day and releases it at night, making it possible to save on air-conditioning and heating, Architects including Ferrier are playing with such possibilities as they design their new buildings. And the ultrahigh-performance concretes can be put to surprising uses: in a showroom on the Lafarge campus, there's a table made of concrete that is so thin and elegant that from a distance it looks as though it could be made of marble.

Lafarge is by no means alone. Franz-Josef Ulm, a professor of civil and environmental engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a concrete expert, says "there's not one single cement company that is not looking at" ways to improve the resistance of concrete. He still sees room for improvement. The next step is to create materials with higher strength but that use the same amount of initial material, says Ulm.

Back in Paris, architect Ferrier acknowledges that some clients are skeptical when he proposes concrete to them. But "the environmental advantage is clear, zero maintenance, zero painting and a very long life," he says. As soon as the price drops, he adds, "we'll be able to explore more."

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TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

Feelin' Muji. How do you design by not designing? A retailer's quest for the ultimate in simplicity can be complicated

BY COCO MASTERS/TOYKO

SATOSHI YASUI IS THE KIND OF DESIGNER who can riff on any product-including socks. Not just any socks, but comfy ones with a 90-degree heel, knit for a perfect fit by Czech grandmothers, that he and his 15-member design team at Muji transformed into one of the Japanese retailer's roughly 7,000 products. "They don't fall off like regular socks, which are usually manufactured with a 120-degree angle," explains Yasui, lifting one cuff of his black jeans to reveal a pair. Yasui-who has been with Muji since the Seiyu supermarket chain created it as a private brand in 1980-says that sometimes the original, rather than the evolved product, is best. "Many products are buried in traditions and culture, and when you rediscover them, they are universal, anonymous."

Ånonymity is an odd thing for a brand to strive for, but not if you are a "no brand" brand. The goal of Yasui's team is to define Muji by design: to create and refine products toward ultimate simplicity and functionality. Muji is characterized by neutral tones and a bare-bones chic infused into everything from food to beds to bicycles—even a house. Muji ("no mark" in Japanese) screams minimalism to anyone who has entered one of its 433 locations in 16 countries.

So it comes as no surprise that the creed of the design team is "The design that is not designed." That could be a Zen nightmare, but Yasui explains: "It might sound sarcastic, but it is the ultimate design—anonymous, free of décor, without mark. It is not a monster of functions. It is simple." The team's official name—Planning & Design-Material Development Office—hardly captures the creativity that directs Mujis household division, which includes furniture, housewares, stationery, fabric, electronics and health and beauty. The team's designs drive 55% of Muji's sales, about \$1.5\$ tillion in 2007.

Muji develops products in two distinct ways: from scratch or with the intent to improve on an existing one. That latter approach shows up in Muji's "undesign" redesign of chairs and tables by the German brand Thonet. An "anony-

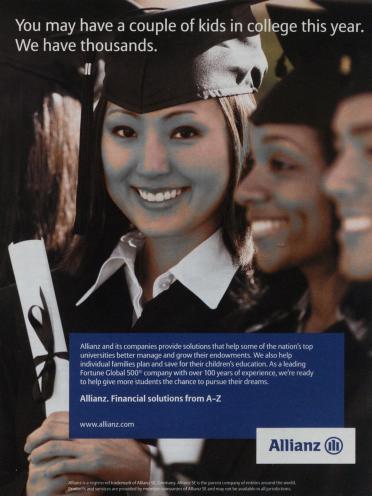
'It might sound sarcastic, but it is the ultimate design—anonymous, free of décor, without mark.' —satoshi yasui, MUII DESIGN-TEAM LEADER **Team Muji** From left, Go Kimura, Nagamoto, Yoshida, Yusuke Koyama, Yasui and Hajime Ikeuchi

mous" brand is particularly challenged in health and beauty, a category with products that people generally like to have fun with and buy to pamper themselves, says category manager Madoka Nagamoto.

A Muji-created product often starts with dialogue among merchandisers, outside designers (about 10 in Tokyo and six overseas) and the design team. The team, which meets weekly, has to negotiate the demands from various departments. For example, when the team designs housewares, the size and scale of the furniture might be taken into consideration. The team regularly gets feedback on how well it's doing: Muji holds company-wide exhibits, from which about 80% of new items are chosen. A five-member advisory board-which finetunes and vets Muii products from start to finish-has the final say.

The brand also incorporates consumers and new talent into the design process. The Muji Award, now in its third year, took on the theme of "Found Muji" and invited designers worldwide to submit ideas that adapt existing products to fit a different lifestyle. Last year's winners included a customizable towel and a stackable clothes hanger. "We're still a fairly new team," says Masayuki Yoshida, World Muji product manager, who is responsible for coordinating with outside designers. New and young: the average age of a category manager is 30. But the concept of "no mark, quality goods," which is nearly as old, remains central. "What is foremost in the designers' thinking is how to get a reaction from consumers that is, 'Of course, it's Muji,' when they experience a product." Yasui says the task is to remind consumers of Muji and its quality, and the struggle is to find a balance between something of slightly better quality that appeals to people in their 50s at a price those in their 20s can afford. This doesn't mean Muji isn't aiming

for bigger profits; the team also creates high-end furniture. But Yasui doesn't see it as a contradiction with the Muji brand.
"We think of what we want and why it doesn't exist. That's where we begin."



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The only thing missing from the Bratz array of saucy accessories is a teeny, tiny stripper pole TOYS, PAGE 65

CAREERS TOYS ☐ GOING GREEN ☐ FOOD ☐ WOMEN'S HEALTH

Vith so many top earners out of ing fewer gigs. Here's how to adapt

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left behind cushy paychecks that covered their jumbo mortgages and kids' tuition bills. That ominous sound you hear? It's all those \$200 pairs of shoes pounding the pavement.

The hiring machine, however, hasn't shut down altogether. The number of Americans filing for unemployment benefits may have hit a 26-year high, but there are still lots of jobs open, because no matter how grim the economic forecast, at least some workers will change jobs voluntarily or retire. "Companies

may not be making expansionary or discretionary hires," says Marc Cenedella, founder of TheLadders.com, a subscription service that lists only jobs that pay \$100,000 and up. "But even in a downturn, there's still 20% to 25% natural turnover per year." In the six-figure category, he estimates that will mean 3.2 million hires a year

getting the pink slips. When Citigroup, for example, announced recently that it was booting some 50,000 employees-many of them high-paid managers-the

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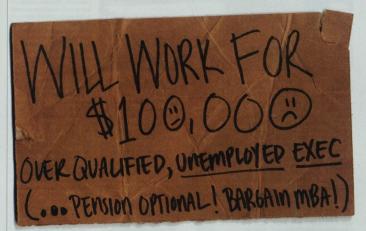
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The only thing missing from the Bratz array of saucy accessories is a teeny, tiny stripper pole TOYS, PAGE 65

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CAREERS

The Six-Figure-Job Hunt. With so many top earners out of work, there's more talent chasing fewer gigs. Here's how to adapt

BY JEREMY CAPLAN

AS THE FINANCIAL SECTOR crumbles, six-figure stars are increasingly among those getting the pink slips. When Citigroup, for example, anounced recently that it was booting some 50,000 employees—many of them high-paid managers—the

departing bankers joined more than 20,000 workers the company had already laid off this year. Many of the newly axed at Citi and elsewhere have left behind cushy paychecks that covered their jumbo mortgages and kids' tuition bills. That ominous sound you hear? It's all those \$200 pairs of shoes pounding the payement.

The hiring machine, however, hasn't shut down altogether. The number of Americans filing for unemployment benefits may have hit a 16-year high, but there arstill lots of jobs open, because no matter how grim the economic forecast, at least some workers will change jobs voluntarily or retire. "Companies may not be making expansionary or discretionary hires," says Marc Cenedella, founder of The Ladders.com, a subscription service that lists only jobs that pay \$100,000 and up. "But even in a downturn, there's still 20% to 25% natural turnover per year." In the six figure category, he estimates that will mean 3.2 million hires a year



instead of 4 million in a normal market.

The Ladders currently lists about 60,000 positions at companies that pay a hefty fee to put their openings in front of high potential recruits. The site tries to weed out unqualified applicants by charging 30 a month or \$180 a year to access listings for such positions as accountant, financial analyst or director of sales, as well as more unusual jobs like "senior level food technologist" or "business strategy nina."

But before you whip out your credit card to sign up for the site, check the free portion to see if it covers the industries you're targeting. Here are a few other important things newly unemployed execs should keep in mind:

Brace yourself. Recently booted M.B.A. sare already out there flooding the market with applications. Heidrick & Struggles, a Chicago-based executive-recruiting firm, is receiving 50% more unso-licited contacts from those seeking high-end jobs than in previous years, says Jory Marino, who heads the firm's North American office. And in case it's not painfully obvious, says Mickey Mathews,

who directs North American operations for Stanton Chase International, a global executive-search firm based in Dallas, "the supply-demand imbalance certainly favors employers."

Because of that imbalance, companies looking to fill white collar positions now have the luxury of sifting through legions of qualified candidates. Mark T. Williams, a finance professor at the Boston University School of Management, says recruiters for finance and other high-skill jobs find themselves receiving 50 or 60 resumes for an opening that may once have attracted just 100 r 20.

Find the right words. Instead of reading all the résumés that are getting dumped on them, many recruiters scan and search the lot for keywords. Which means top-bracket job seekers—some of whom may not have looked

That sound you hear? It's all those \$200 shoes pounding the payement for a new gig in a decade or more—need to update their résumés with the jargon du jour that recruiters are looking for. For accountants, that means phrases like Sarbanes-Oxley, while marketers may need to add terms like searchenaine optimization.

Get professional help. One

frequent blunder even million-dollar-job seekers commit is deciding to write and edit their résumés without expert input. "Your labor is the most valuable thing you're going to sell," says Cenedella. "Would you have an amateur copywriter write copy for the most valuable product you have? Then why would you write your résumé yourself?" Those seeking solid counseling on the résumé front can get it through the Professional Association of Résumé Writers & Career Coaches or sites like ResumeWriters.com, where a résumé overhaul starts at \$200.

As for cover letters, they're shrinking along with the job market. While some career counselors still advocate a traditional four-paragraph letter, many now favor a pithy oneparagraph e-mail. Network digitally. For help in landing a job, the unemployed are digging ever deeper into their address books, not to mention their favor banks. And they're not just dialing up old friends and recruiters. They're also digitizing their Rolodexes. LinkedIn, a professional-networking site whose members' average household income is \$110,000. has 32 million members. A new member signs up every second; a million join every two weeks. The site, which has new job-search functions in the works, already lets employment seekers figure out what connections they have to people who work at companies that are hiring. Premium, paid features boost the number of listings that searches vield and enable users to contact those outside their social network. At least one executive from every FORTUNE 500 company is now on the site-and Oracle's new CFO landed his post through his LinkedIn profile.

Be flexible. Some investment bankers are switching into financial planning or selling insurance. "When those looking for high-end jobs are struggling, they become amazingly tolerant," says Douglas Klein, president of Sirota Survey Intelligence, a New York Citybased research firm. "They'll take work for which they're underpaid and overqualified." For some, that flexibility means a willingness to accept a transitional position below the salary they're accustomed to-what's often called a survival or fallback job. Legendary investor Warren Buffett has said he would never take a job he wouldn't want to keep. And he staved true to that. even before he was wealthy. We don't live long enough, the argument goes, to waste time doing something we don't love. Few people, however, make even a small fraction of a small fraction of what Buffett does. And for those desperate for a paycheck, sometimes any clock to punch will do.

Something to Pout About. After Barbie wins a court victory, the fate of the Bratz dolls hangs in the balance

BY REBECCA WINTERS KEEGAN

THE BRATZ MAY BE HOSTING their final slumber party next month. That's because a federal judge ruled that MGA Entertainment, the maker of the popular, pouty-lipped dolls, has been violating a copyright held by Mattel, manufacture of the Bratz' archrival for the affections of 6-year-old girls—Barbie

Judge Stephen Larson in Riverside, Calif., has ordered MGA to stop making and selling the Bratz dolls after the holiday shopping season, a ruling MGA's chief executive, Isaac Larian, calls "shocking and unfair" and says he plans to appeal. The copyright-infringement case is the latest-and may be the last-controversy to befall the seven-year-old dolls, whose maker has come under fire for everything from sexualizing girls to encouraging them to imitate the dolls' expression of ennui.

Arriving in toy stores when Barbie was hitting her ho-hum 40s, the Bratz dolls brought multiculturalism and an urban attitude to the blonde-ocracy of the fashion-doll aisle. Bratz have ethnically indeterminate names like Yasmin and Jade and come in an array of hues. The Bratz'skimpy clothes and hooded eves make them look like bored socialites at a club opening-as if they're waiting for someone cooler to come and play with them. All that "sass," as toy analysts termed the Bratz' apathetic aesthetic, may have horrified some parents, but it sold well with little girls, who made the dolls a more than \$2 billion franchise, with their own feature film, hair extensions and, of course, clothing line.

Fortunately the fans' attire is more playground appropriate than the dolls' micro-priate than the dolls' wast array of saucy accessories is a teny, tiny stripper pole. The American Psychological Association's Task Force on the Sexualization of Grifs singled out the Bratz dolls last year, saying

designed specifically for 4-to 8-year-olds are associated with an objectified adult sexuality."

By then, however, the Bratz had stolen enough of Mattel's market share that the world's biggest toy company was retaliating with lines of Bratz wannabes: the puffy-lipped My Scene Barbie and hip-hopmatched the Bratz in appeal, however, and the Flavas are now defunct.

Unable to beat the Bratz

Unable to beat the Bratz, Mattle steed out to reclaim the dolls it said it rightfully owned in the first place. The Bratz were created by former Barbie designer Carter Bryant, who Mattle claimed had invented the dolls while he was still under contract with the company in 1999. In July, a California jury agreed and awarded Mattel up to 5 you million in damages. (Mattle also sued Bryant, who settled his case in May)

Left undecided, however, was what would happen to the Bratz brand. On Dec. 3, Judge Larson essentially handed over control of the Bratz to Mattel. In a statement, Barbie's maker said the ruling "underscores what Mattel has said all along-that MGA should not be allowed to profit from its wrongdoing." But Mattel hasn't said what it will do with the dolls. The toy company could shut the Bratz down, produce them itself or strike an agreement for MGA to continue making the dolls under a license. As for MGA, a family owned company that owes half its income to Bratz products, it is "currently assessing [its] options," Larian says. "I am open to a reasonable resolution of the issues." In February, the two companies will participate in a hearing to determine just what that resolution will be.

Sabrina Haylock, 7, has an opinion. She was cruising the toy aisles with her mom at a Target in West Hollywood, Calif., three weeks before Christmas when she got the news about the Bratz' uncertain future. "Barbie is a princess, and the Bratz are more wild," she said. "You need both."



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Vertical Farming

In a crowded world, high-tech hanging gardens offer a way to save land, water ... and the climate



Oh, grow up An experimental farm in El Paso, Texas, reduces water and fertilizer waste for crops

14%

Percentage of greenhouse-gas emissions from farming

5%

Amount of water needed for vertical farms vs. usage by equivalent conventional ones

50,000

Number of people experts predict can be fed by a 30-story farm DICKSON DESPOMMIER BECAME the guru of vertical farming because his students were bummed out. A professor at Columbia University in New York City, Despommier teaches about parasitism, environmental disruption and other assorted happy topics. Eventually his students complained: they wanted to work on something optimistic. So the class began studying the idea of rooftop gardening for cities. They quickly discarded that approach-too smallscale-in favor of something more ambitious: a 30-story urban farm with a greenhouse on every floor, "I think vertical farming is an idea that can work in a big way," says Despommier.

Why would we want to

build skyscrapers filled with lettuce when we've been farming on the ground for 10,000 years? Because as the world's population grows-from 6.8 billion now to as much as o billion by 2050-we could run out of productive soil and water. Most of the population growth will occur in cities that can't easily feed themselves. Add the fact that modern agriculture and everything associated with it-deforestation, chemicalladen fertilizers and carbonemitting transportation-is a significant contributor to climate change, and suddenly vertical farming doesn't seem so magic beanstalk in the sky. "Vertical farming could

allow food to be grown locally and sustainably," says Glen Kertz, CEO of Valcent, a tech company based in El Paso, Texas, that's trying out the process. His firm uses hydroponic greenhous methods to grow upward rather than out. The result saves space—vital in urban areas—and allows farmers to irrigate and fertilize with far less waste.

At Valcent's El Paso lab, potted crops grow in rows on clear vertical panels that rotate on a conveyor belt. Moving them gives the plants the precise amount of light and nutrients needed, an optimization that Kertz saylets him grow 15 times as much lettuce per acre as on a normal farm, using 5% of the water that conventional agriculture does. The company aims to finish a commercial-scale facility by early 2009.

Despommier's plans are even grander. He has drawn up models for a 30-story. city-block-size vertical farm that would have transparent walls to maximize sunlight and would produce enough food for 50,000 people. "With about 160 of these buildings. you could feed all of New York," he says. His idea has intrigued architects, but Despommier concedes that it would cost hundreds of millions to build a full-scale skyscraper farm. That's the main drawback: construction and energy costs would probably make vertically raised food more costly than traditional crops. At least for now.

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Welcome Back, Spam. Amid rising sales of the canned meat, TIME asks star chefs to concoct tasty Spam recipes

BY JOEL STEIN

THOSE ONCE CRUCIAL FOODshopping decisions between local and organic became a lot less important when the recession rolled in. Sales of Spam, which comes in neither of those varieties, haven't been this big since World War II when soldiers overseas were sent vacuum-sealed cans of cooked pork shoulder, ham, water, sugar, salt, sodium nitrite (to maintain the porcine color) and potato starch (to maintain the cat-food-like consistency).

I grew up in the 1970s, and even though my suburban menu included Velveeta, Saucy Susan and Kraft Macaroni & Cheese, we did not eat Spam. So when I tried it in Hawaiiby far the biggest Spam-eating state, thanks to an influx of World War II soldiers, poverty and a palate used to poi-I was surprised that it wasn't bad. Kind of smoky and not at all gelatinous. With many of the top restaurants hurting, I figured I'd ask some of the country's best chefs what kind of cheap dishes they could make with the stuff-since they might have to soon.

It turns out that a lot of the chefs had already cooked Spam. Rick Moonen, the brilliant seafoodie in Las Vegas, once made some exhausted mountain biking friends Spam and eggs procured at a produceunfriendly general store in the middle of the Catskills. "They say it was one of the best meals of their life," he says. Likewise, Michael Fiorello of Chicago's Mercrad a la Planza was with



Spamghetti carbonara Brandon Boudet of Dominick's in Los Angeles, who had never cooked the canned meat before, was pleased with his dish



OTHER DISHES Kerry Simon

Simon, L.A. and Las Vegas Green eggs and Spam Michael Fiorello Mercat a la Planxa, Chicago Hot and spicy Spam coca

Rick Moonen RM Seafood, Las Vegas Clams and Spam



Get Your Spam On
For recipes from several
big-name chefs, go to
time.com/spam

a girlfriend a couple of years ago in an area without an open grocery store, so after a trip to CVS, he worked up a pirza with canned pineapples, canned corn and Spam that went over pretty well. "I don't know why people knock it," he says of the off maligned spiced ham. Celebri-chef Kerry Simon is also a Spam defender. "Anything you can think of that you want tort, it's canable of," he says.

Brandon Boudet of Dominick's in Los Angeles wasn't so sure. A Spam virgin, he blanched a bit when it plonked out of the can, all pink like a newborn mole rat. After bravely sautéing some little squares of Spam-for Spamghetti carbonara-he tested one and was surprised. It was pleasantly hamlike and not as salty as he had expected. And it was eerily airy. He was so confused, he grabbed the can and scanned the ingredients. It was the potato starch. That's what holds the shape but kind of melts in your mouth. He ate some more, still thrown by its lightness, and thought it would work better in a friséeand-lardon salad, fried into light little bacony croutons. Or in a taco. "It could almost take the place of chicharrón," he says. "It's a healthier version." A healthier version of fried pork rind. I'm sure Spam will take whatever nutritional compliments it can get.

Permanent Birth Control. Skip the scalpel. Two minutes, two inserts—and your childbearing years are over



STERILIZATION METHOD

Doctors implant Essure coils to create scar tissue that blocks Fallopian tubes

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN/ GALLATIN

GETTING YOUR TUBES TIED is not the most appealing phrase, but it's way more user-friendly than sterilization. Maybe that's why the maker of Essure—a newer, cheaper, faster, scalpel-free alternative to tubal ligation—is marketing the procedure as "permanent birth control."

It took just two minutes for Theresa Jackson to get sterilized. On a recent afternoon in Gallatin. Fenn, the 3-yearold mother of three lay on an exam table in the office of her obgyn, Dr. Alan Bennett, with her feet in stirrups and her husband by her side. She was awake and relaxed enough to let me watch (weird, I know) as Bennett inserted first a thin camera into her uterus and then, using a video monitor as a guide, a small coil into each of her Fallopian tubes. Afterward, Jackson walked to her car and went home to her kids.

Each year about 700,000 women in the U.S. get their tubes tied, with the surgeries typically requiring general anesthesia, a hospital stay and a week of recovery. But according to Millennium Research Group, there are plenty of women who are done having kids but don't want to go under the knife. The health-care data firm projects the femalesterilization market will more than triple, from \$80 million in 2007 to \$245 million, by 2012, as these women opt for quick fixes like Essure that can cost patients as little as a doctor's visit co-pay.

Jackson said the localanesthesia shots she got before the implantation were "painfull." And afterward, she had cramps for a few hours akin to the ones during her period. The *!\(^4\)in-long (38 mm) coils which are like pen springs but smaller and softer—contain fibers that irritate the tubes and prompts cart tissue to grow into and around the tinloops. After three months, the Fallopian tubes are blocked, preventing eggs from reaching

Approved by the Food and Drug Administration in 2002, Essure coils were implanted mostly in hospitals until last

the uterus to be fertilized.

Twice as many married women as married men in the U.S. get sterilized year, when Conceptus, the Mountain View, Calif., manu-facturer, started training lots of does to perform the procedure in their offices. The firm recently launched its first big advertising campaign, Rival company Hologic hopes to gain FDA approval in 2009 for Adiana, a soft silicone polymer similarly inserted to seal off the Fallopian tubes.

Unlike some tubal-ligation methods, Essure cannot be reversed. One general concern among doctors is that women who choose to get sterilized might later change their minds. In a study in Obstetrics & Gynecology of 11,232 women who had been voluntarily sterilized, 20% of those who were vounger than 30 at the time of the operation felt regret later. compared with 6% of those who were older than 30. Bennett, who stopped performing tubal ligations a year ago and now sterilizes only with Essure, says, "The most important job we have is to make sure people are absolutely certain." He discussed the issue for a year with Chastity Taylor, who is only 29 and has one daughter, before implanting the coils in her in September. The doctor, his patient and her husband are convinced it was the right choice; otherwise, Taylor says, "I would have stayed on the IUD forever."

Of course, there is another choice for couples who don't want to take any chances—right, gents? But twice as many married women as married men in the U.S. get sterilized. "I would've gotten a vasectomy, if that's what she wanted," says 'Theresa Jackson's husband Mike. "But then we talked about Essure," he says. "And I'm a sissy."



Black Gold. Oil prices are low. Too low. Let's finally impose a big energy tax and use the windfall to help create jobs

THE ONLY GOOD ECONOMIC NEWS LATELY HAS BEEN THE Collapse of oil prices. At the beginning of July, just five months ago, the price of a barrel of oil was more than \$140. By the beginning of December, it was down to about \$45. That's a drop of more than two thirds. In the U.S., we consume about 15 million bbl. of crude a day. The saving of \$95 per bbl. adds up to more than \$500 billion a year. That's big—enough to bail out the auto industry 15 times.

Of course, we've been through this before. The price of oil shoots up; we start using less; reduced demand sends the price down; we start using more; pretty soon it's shooting up again. This time, though, it does feel different. It seems as if Americans have made a real and fundamental commitment to consuming less energy. That is not so much out of idealism as it is the good side, for a change, of our short attention span. When the price of gasoline shot past \$4 per gal., it was both shocking and reassuring. Economists had long wondered what price it would take to get our attention. This, at last, was it. Yet \$4 gas turned out not to be the end of the world. Although it was devastating for some people-and it surely accelerated our plunge into recession, which is affecting all of us-we adjusted more easily than one would have thought possible. And we kept on adjusting, even as the price of oil plummeted.

Will this change in behavior last 70 rw ill we return to our wastre ways as we climb out of recession and the reality again sinks in that gas is cheap? The one sure way to prevent this second scenario from happening is not to let gas get cheap again. Yes, this is yet another plea for that hoary notion a big energy tax, lust five months ago, we were essentially paying a tax of sog per bbl. That's the difference between what oil cost then and what it costs now. This was a "tax" whereby the revenue went into the pockets of oil producers—about two-thirds of them foreign countries and one-third fellow Americans. In't there something better to do with the money?

This idea always comes up and never goes anywhere. That's partly because of our general loathing of taxes and suspicion of Washington and partly because the idea tends to come up when energy prices are rising and people find it hard to believe that it would be good if they rose even more. But a couple of things are different now. First, we have experienced the high energy prices that people in most of the rest of the world already live with, and we know we can live with them too. Four-dollar gasoline is no longer unthinkable.

Second, this is the perfect moment for the other part of many proposals for an energy tax, which is to give the

money back to people by lowering the payroll tax. The payroll tax, or FICA, collects about 15% of your wages or salary—half from you and half from you employer. It is expected to bring in close to a trillion dollars in 2009. Using our windfall from plummetting crude oil prices alone, we could cut the FICA tax by more than half. Including other forms of energy would bring in even more.

FICA is, in effect, a tax on job creation. It applies to the very first dollar earned by a minimum-wage worker. but most of it tops out at an annual income of about \$100,000 and doesn't apply at all to income from investments. For most Americans holding jobs, FICA now takes a bigger chunk of their income than the income tax itself. And yet it rarely enjoys the tender concern of tax-cutting Republicans. who prefer to concentrate on tax breaks for capital gains. Cutting the FICA tax in half, for workers and for employers, would make it more affordable for employers to hire-or avoid layoffs-while giving everyone who makes less than \$100,000 a 7.5% raise to spend and stimulate the economy even further. People making more than \$100,000 would get a tax cut too-as big as anyone else's, though a smaller percentage of their incomes.

One argument against all this is that FICA finances Social Security payments, and the connection between money in and money out helps keep Social Security secure. There's a simple answer: among the many problems we now face, the danger that a majority in Congress will gang up against Social Security benefits must surely rank low.

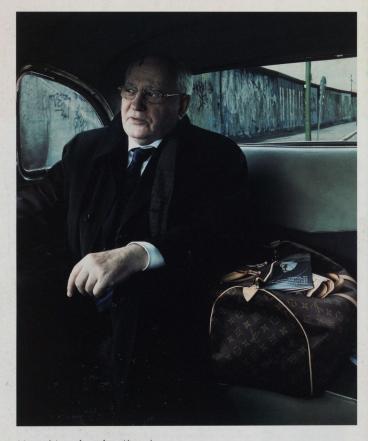
It comes down to this: in the terrible storm of economic misery, we suddenly have a half-trillion-dollar windfall. As unemployment heads toward double digits, we can use this found money to encourage people to cretacjobs, or we can use it to encourage people to use more gasoline. It's a pretty easy choice, don't you think? *because we would all like to see a heart attack coming from a mile away.



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